

Thursday April 16 1998

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online

Net music: the record industry clamps down

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The people say Yes — but the Orangemen say No

Exclusive poll indicates overwhelming support for Northern Irish peace deal

Alan Travis
Home Affairs Editor

THERE is overwhelming support for Northern Ireland's historic peace agreement, according to a joint Guardian-Irish Times opinion poll published today.

The results of the first test of public opinion since the agreement was struck will provide a vital crutch for David Trimble, the embattled leader of the Ulster Unionists, whose future will be on the line when he faces his party council on Saturday. Dissidents want to see him pay the price for accepting a deal they cannot embrace.

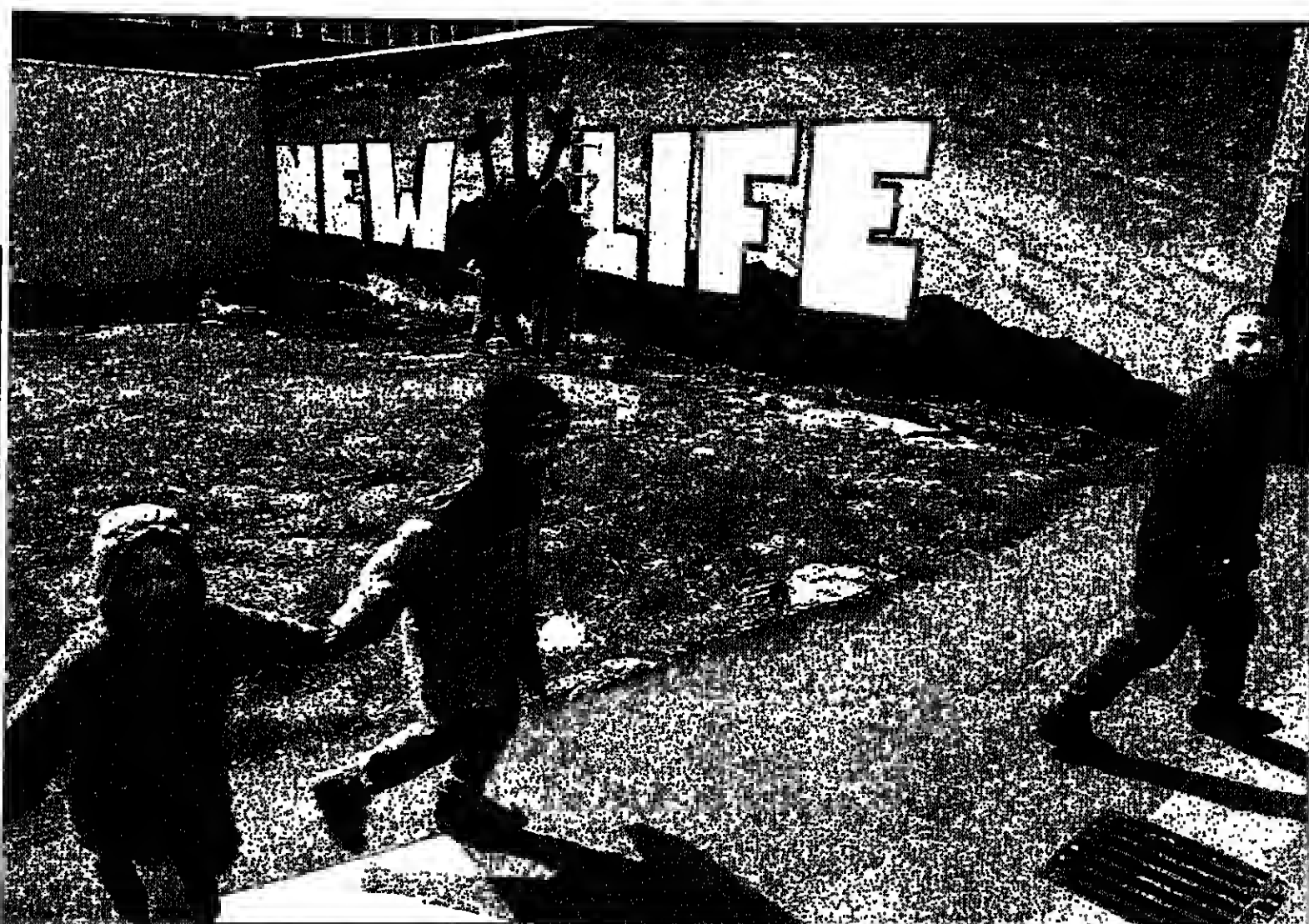
The poll delivers a blow to the campaign for a No vote, launched yesterday by the Rev Ian Paisley, whose consistently anti-settlement Democratic Unionist Party is shown to have lost about half its electoral support since last May. Only 14 per cent back the No campaign.

The poll, conducted by MRB, ICM and Harris in Northern Ireland, the rest of the United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland, shows surprisingly strong majority support for the peace agreement in all three places.

In the Republic of Ireland 61 per cent of voters say they will back the necessary constitutional changes in their referendum while in Britain support for the peace agreement rises to 81 per cent with only four per cent saying they would oppose it if they were asked to vote.

The results clearly suggest that the planned referendums north and south of the border would be carried by substantial majorities if they were held today.

Significant but smaller majorities across Britain and Ireland also believe that the agreement can deliver a lasting peace. There is scepticism about the longer-term prospects but 56 per cent of people in Northern Ireland see the agreement as having a reasonable to strong chance of bringing lasting peace. This optimistic view is shared by similarly sized ma-



Painters put the finishing touches to a mural by born-again Christians on Belfast's Shankill Road

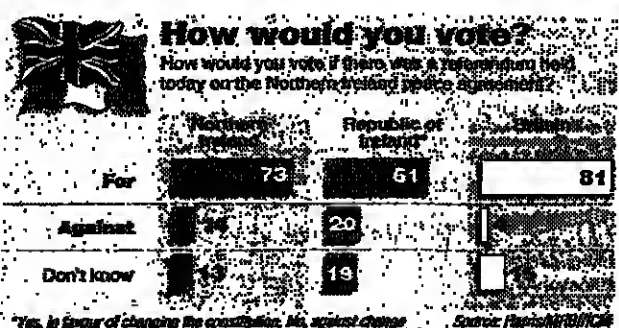
PHOTOGRAPH BY KEVIN BOYES

majorities in the rest of the United Kingdom and in the Republic of Ireland.

Northern Irish voters give most credit for the agreement to Tony Blair, followed by the SDLP's John Hume, Mr Trimble and then Senator George Mitchell, who chaired the multiparty talks process. Sinn Féin's Gerry Adams is not seen as principal peace-maker, with only 4 per cent of voters naming him in that role. Only 9 per cent of Roman Catholics named him as the person who should receive the most credit.

Mr Paisley receives a poor verdict on both sides of the Irish Sea. In Northern Ireland 30 per cent describe his role in the peace process as "obstructive", a view shared by 48 per cent in Britain. Some 43 per cent of British voters described Mr Adams's role in the same terms.

When Northern Irish voters were asked about their voting intentions in elections to the promised Northern Ireland assembly, both Sinn Féin and the Democratic Unionist



Party saw their support halved since last year's general election, although there was a substantial percentage of don't knows.

Opinion polls in the province have proved unreliable in the past at dividing levels of party support but the peace process seems to have reinforced the role of the SDLP and Ulster Unionists with no dividend in electoral terms for Sinn Féin.

Support for the agreement is particularly strong among supporters of the SDLP, Alliance, Sinn Féin and UUP, and



the settlement. In the minds of British voters, both are way ahead of the other politicians involved in the agreement.

Most British voters are happy to see a more active role for the Irish government in Northern Irish affairs and strongly supported the idea of a Northern Irish assembly as

useful to achieving long-term stability.

The survey also shows that a sizeable majority (61 per cent) in the Republic of Ireland would vote in the referendum to change Articles Two and Three of the Irish Constitution to amend their historic claim on Northern Ireland. These changes, which recognise the principle of consent for people in the North, are contained in the agreement.

However, almost a fifth of Southern Irish voters, many of them working-class women, are undecided on this point. More than half of those who are undecided or are intending to vote "no" are the Irish government's own Fianna Fáil supporters.

A considerable majority in the south — 70 per cent — consider that the Republic's historic claim to Northern Ireland is justified but most feel it could be given up for peace north of the border.

Full details, page 2; Leader comment, page 9

Hardliners reject agreement but Trimble remains confident he can carry the day with his party

John Mallin
Ireland Correspondent

DAVID Trimble, leader of the Ulster Unionists, was placed under renewed pressure in his attempts to sell the peace agreement to his party's rank-and-file after the Orange Order last night in effect rejected the deal.

The order said after a stormy six-hour meeting in Belfast that it could not recommend the settlement to the people of Northern Ireland without clarification on key issues. It appeared unlikely that it could be persuaded to rubber-stamp the deal.

Mr Trimble, who has taken the highest gamble of his career by backing the agreement, is expected to quit as party leader if he loses a crucial vote on Saturday when he asks the 800-strong Ulster Unionist Council to ratify the deal.

Mr Trimble, who was lobbying delegates yesterday, is confident he can win. But he faced further opposition.

The Democratic Unionist Party launched its No campaign for next month's referendum with Ian Paisley, its leader, calling the deal "the mother of all treacheries".

The Ulster Unionist MP Martin Smyth said he was "sceptical". It is now expected that as many as six of the party's 10 MPs are ready to reject the settlement on Saturday.

Tony Blair, on holiday in Spain, rowed in with support for Mr Trimble. He said: "Those who want this to fail do not offer the way forward for the future."

The Government will take no notice of Saturday's vote if the Ulster Unionist Council votes down the deal. It and

the Irish government will press on with simultaneous referendums on the deal in Northern Ireland and the Republic on May 22.

The Orange Order indicated last night that it wanted reassurance on RUC reform; the accelerated release programme for convicted terrorists; decommissioning of weapons; and the powers of cross-border bodies. It will delay any final decision until after Saturday's vote, one crumb of comfort for Mr Trimble.

Robert Saulters, Grand Master, was reluctant for the Orange Order to take any collective position. But the organisation is given by division, and hardliner Joel Patton, who leads the Spirit of Drumcree group, was insistent that it take a lead.

Mr Patton, who called the deal a betrayal, said he was backed by 90 per cent of the 150 delegates present. There are an estimated 80,000 Orangemen in Northern Ireland.

But the Trimble camp remains confident, believing that delegates at Saturday's meeting will back the settlement once they know more about the details.

His team is selling the reform of the Irish constitution to remove the territorial claim to Northern Ireland; the assembly, likely to be Unionist dominated; and the demise of the detested Anglo-Irish Agreement. His publicity drive begins this morning with his first press conference since the deal.

As he announced a series of rallies in opposition to the deal, Mr Paisley said: "The reaction of ordinary Unionists is one of outrage and amazement that any Unionist leader could set his hand to such a deal."

Prague Writers' Festival 1998

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The Guardian

Moral dilemma as the Dalai Lama repeats his message



The Dalai Lama: spiritual guidance is big business

Clare Longrigg

ONE of the century's greatest authorities on ethics is facing a moral challenge of his own. The Dalai Lama, whose teachings have guided millions, is about to receive a lesson in the letter of the law.

The exiled Tibetan leader is to be sued by his British publishers for alleged breach of contract. Publishers Little, Brown, who are bringing out a book of the Dalai Lama's ethics next year, have learned that he

has collaborated on a rival project which duplicates much of the same material.

Alarmed that the rival book, acquired by Hodder & Stoughton for UK publication in October, threatens to spoil its own book's impact, Little, Brown is taking legal action.

"We have just learned how similar the rival project is," said Richard Beswick, editor at Little, Brown. "In fact the author used an identical source. We had a standard contract with the Office of Tibet which provides for an original manuscript, and this

other book will infringe our copyright."

The Dalai Lama's spokesman in London declined to comment until they heard directly from Little, Brown. Little, Brown's book, *Ethics for the New Millennium*, is an exposition of the Dalai Lama's philosophy and calls for a spiritual revolution.

The rival, co-authored by Howard Cutler, is entitled *A Handbook for Living and Dying*, a self-help guide. The publisher's blurb calls it "The Dalai Lama's first book for a general audience". Both books draw in part

on the text of the Dalai Lama's teachings in Arizona on the subject of tolerance.

Ever since Tenzin Gyatso, the 14th Dalai Lama, was driven into exile by the Chinese army in 1959, the world has clamoured for his particular brand of Buddhism.

A vast number of volumes have been printed by small, specialist publishing houses, loosely adapted from the Dalai Lama's words. But now that the big guns are getting in on the act, what used to be spiritual guidance is called intellectual property.

What distinguishes these books is that they are commissioned by mainstream publishers on a grander scale, with bigger budgets. "A lot depends on the scale of the publication," said Mr Beswick. "These two books are different in that they will be substantial in terms of publicity."

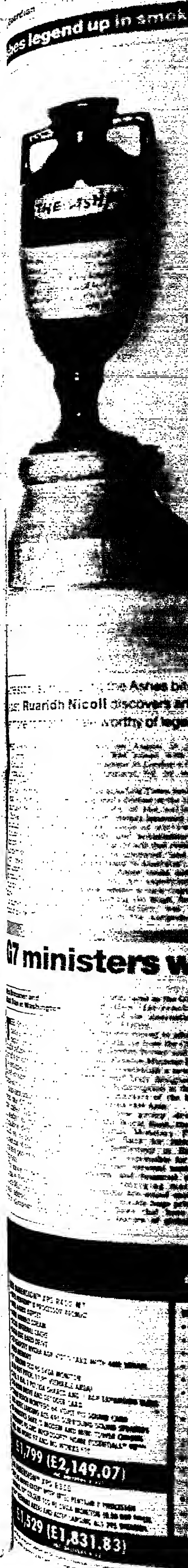
The Dalai Lama is big business: his autobiography, *Freedom in Exile*, also published by Hodder, sold more than half a million copies, and his story has inspired several Hollywood films, most recently Martin Scorsese's *Kundun*.

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Trimble faces his biggest challenge



Ashes legend up in smoke



For 116 years England and Australia have battled for cricket's most famous trophy, left. The myth says the urn contains the ashes of a bail. History says it is the veil from the family of this woman



As one story surrounding the Ashes bites the dust, Ruaridh Nicoll discovers an even more romantic tale worthy of legend

THE legend of the Ashes is crumbling to dust. Cricket's most famous trophy, contained in an urn at Lord's, may actually be the remnants of a woman's veil, not the torched ball as widely believed. The revelation will shock the English and Australian cricketing establishments, which have passionately contested the trophy for 116 years — but it opens the door to a more romantic story: a tale of sportsmanship, a lord of the realm and a colonial beauty in love.

It started when tragedy struck at the heart of English

cricket on August 19 1882. Battle was joined with the Australians at London's Oval and England fell by seven runs. The Sporting Times marked England's demise at the time, the body of the national cricket "deeply lamented by a large circle of sorrowing friends and acquaintances". It went on to add that remains would be cremated "and the ashes taken to Australia".

Such shame could not be tolerated. An expeditionary force under a new captain, the dashing Ivo Bligh, future Earl of Darnley, was dispatched to the Antipodes to

salvage a nation's honour. The Perthshire earl for the South Seas. On board England's captain fell under the enchanted, and enchanting eyes of an Australian governess and great beauty Florence Rose Murphy. Miss Murphy was travelling with her employer, the newly knighted Sir William Clarke, resident of Rupertswood in Victoria. "She formed an attraction to the captain," said the current Lord Darnley, Ivo and Florence's grandson, yesterday.

On reaching the southern shores, Ivo's team did their duty and beat the Australians. It was a close-run thing, England coming from behind in the third game to win 3-1. A fourth game, which the Australians won, was generously ignored.

In one of the games, no one is quite sure which, Ivo was

hit on the hand by a ball and injured. Florence, as her name demanded, was dispatched to help. "A ball struck his hand and she was told to take some bandages on to the field," said their daughter-in-law, 82-year-old Rosemary, Dowager Countess of Darnley (above). "He fell in love with her. She was a great beauty, she had the most lovely voice and beautiful hands."

Sir William, delighted by Ivo, invited him to Rupertswood for Christmas. A friendly match was arranged on the lawn while unbeknown to the players, the Melbourne ladies, including Florence, were scheming. They had decided to return the remains of English cricket.

Popular legend says they burnt a cricket ball and put the ashes in an urn, presenting it to the delighted captain.

But Rosemary says she was told another story. "My mother-in-law told me the Ashes were a burnt veil she wore while Ivo was playing," she said, adding that she is revealing this new information now because no one has ever asked her before. The subsequent legend may have arisen because of the similar sound of "veil" and "vill". The words on the tiny urn offer no clue, only the names of cricketers of the time. When Ivo goes back with the urn, the urn, Studds, Steel, Read, Tylecote return, return: The wealth will, ring loud, The great crowd will feel proud, Seeing Barlow and Bates with the urn, the urn: And the rest coming home with the urn.

Whether the heavens did ring loud on Ivo's return to Britain with the Ashes, his

Botha 'gave orders for apartheid's worst acts'

Alex Duval Smith in George, Western Cape

DAMNING new evidence of P. W. Botha's personal role in ordering both attacks and killings to thwart anti-apartheid activity was revealed yesterday at the trial of the former South African president.

The sensational minutes of top-secret meetings in the 1980s, obtained from national archives by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, confirm claims that the State Security Council, chaired by Mr Botha from 1978-89, masterminded some of the dirtiest tricks of emergency rule.

They include details of a "national strategy against the revolutionary onslaught against South Africa" which in November 1988 ruled that "intimidators must be means of formal and informal policing be neutralised".

At another meeting in July 1986, the council drew up a list of "politically sensitive people" for whom "methods other than detention must be considered". Mr Botha's role might never have been publicly confirmed had he accepted a face-saving offer by Archbishop Desmond Tutu, the chairman of the truth commission.

Now Mr Botha, who came to George regional court, east of Cape Town, facing the relatively minor charge of contempt for ignoring a subpoena to testify before the commission, faces what could develop into a trial of his reign.

The commission had agreed with Mr Botha's lawyers that he could avoid the humiliation of a court appearance by agreeing to be questioned by an in-camera sitting.

But despite 24 hours of negotiations, a plea by Archbishop Tutu and an offer by President Nelson Mandela to accompany Mr Botha to the private hearing, the Great Crocodile, as the 82-year-old former leader is known, refused.

Against the advice of his lawyers, he now faces a trial, presided over by a black magistrate, Victor Luyag, which could last more than a week. A disappointed Archbishop Tutu said: "Fundamentally it stuck in Mr Botha's gullet to have to appear in front of the commission at all."

He never intended to belittle him or put him on the spot. The thing would have been over in a few hours. All we wanted from him was 'can you answer these questions'. If he doesn't remember, he doesn't remember."

In the small courtroom yesterday Mr Botha sat silently, rising only to confirm his name. Looking gaunt, with waxy skin and wearing a dark blue suit and white shirt, both of which were too big for him, Mr Botha, who suffered a stroke in 1989, appeared a pathetic figure.

As the first witness, Paul van Zyl, the executive secretary of the commission, read out four hours of damning evidence against him, Mr Botha smiled occasionally. He was either feigning confidence or not entirely mentally alert.

Mr Botha's lawyers are believed to be urging him not to testify but they do not rule that he will do so.

Detailing the content of minutes from the State Security Council Mr Van Zyl emphasised that his intention was not to prove guilt on Mr Botha's part.

He said: "The fact that the State Security Council may have authorised gross violations of human rights does

'Intimidators must by means of formal or informal policing be neutralised'

not mean the commission has come to the conclusion that it did. We were requesting assistance from the person who chaired the State Security Council."

Mr Van Zyl stopped short of revealing extensive details of specific attacks ordered by the State Security Council. But he used details from the amnesty application of the former police commissioner, Johann van der Merwe, to show that Mr Botha had personally ordered the 1988 bombing of Khotsiso House, the headquarters of the South African Council of Churches.

Mr Van Zyl gave details of a State Security Council strategy to "neutralise, eliminate enemy leaders" and another to "neutralise the African National Congress leadership". He said the commission had wanted to call Mr Botha to question him on the meaning he gave to such words as neutralise and eliminate.

Mr Van Zyl will give further evidence this morning. He is expected to reveal details of the command structure involved in some of the deadly cross-border raids launched by South Africa on neighbouring countries in the 1980s.

G7 ministers warn Japan to prevent wider crisis

Alex Brummer and Mark Tran in Washington

THE Group of Seven finance ministers last night urged Japan to rapidly reflate its economy as part of a broadly-based initiative designed to shore up the global economy in the midst of the east Asia crisis.

In an unusually blunt statement, the G7 made it clear that unless Japan delivered on pledges to cut taxes and stimulate demand, Tokyo could be responsible for a worsening of the situation in Asia and, potentially, a global recession.

The move to persuade the Japanese Finance Minister Hikoichi Matsunaga, to aggressively address Japan's economic slowdown and finan-

cial reform came as the G7 set in motion far-reaching reforms of the international economic system.

Ministers moved to adopt a joint initiative from the Chancellor Gordon Brown and Canadian Finance Minister Paul Martin to establish a new international body designed to deal with disruption in the financial markets of the kind seen across east Asia.

This new group, drawn from the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the Bank for International Settlements in Basel, would be responsible for ensuring that national banking systems and financial markets in emerging market economies are sound enough to accommodate huge private capital flows that have become a feature of global fi-

nance. The unit — to be attached to the bank and fund — would become an essential instrument in seeking to prevent a repetition of the Asian financial crisis.

Yesterday's meeting of the Group of Seven Finance Ministers and central bankers from the US, Japan, Germany, France, Italy, Canada and the UK, comes against the background of extraordinary turbulence in the financial markets and sharp downward revisions in the prospects for world growth in the wake of the east Asia turmoil. Ministers are seeking to calm the situation and shore up the reputation and resources of the IMF/World Bank amid heavy criticism of their role in Asia.

Among the current concerns is that Japan's lurch

into a period of no growth can be reversed before it moves into a downward spiral that could aggravate Asia's problems and rebound to the United States and Europe.

Gordon Brown, seeking to put his stamp on the reform process, told the G7 he wanted to see changes in three key areas.

First, he wanted to tighten disclosure standards and require the IMF to publish detailed assessments of the fiscal and reserve positions of potential problem economies. Secondly, Mr Brown advocated a Code of Good Practice governing the publication of the reserve position of countries to ensure that they were following sound monetary practice.

Finally, he wanted to see a new joint department of the

IMF and the World Bank capable of monitoring and acting in banking and financial crises.

As well as discussing the continuing Asian emergency and Japan, the G7 also examined the build-up to European Monetary Union and its likely effect from the foreign exchange markets.

The Americans said they were comfortable that the arrival of the euro would not affect the dollar's position as the world's premier reserve currency.

Gordon Brown clearly hopes that the arrival of the euro, together with a slowdown in the UK compared to its European partners, will provide much-needed relief from the strong pound which is hitting hard on British exports.



Hikoichi Matsunaga: under pressure to take action

Primary Colors flops as America tires of White House scandals

Christopher Reed in Los Angeles

ONE of the most publicised of recent Hollywood films, the spoof of a philandering president called Primary Colors, has become a box office flop.

Despite enthusiastic reviews and huge pre-release publicity, the movie starring John Travolta and Emma Thompson is being withdrawn after failing to break even. It cost \$65 million (\$38 million) to make, but has made only about \$32 million since its release on March 20.

Sigors were the film would do well after an initial take of \$12 million. But after it moved from more politically interested viewers in cities,

it performed disastrously in mainstream America. One problem was Titanic, still breaking box office records when Primary Colors came out. Then came Paramount's surprise re-release of Travolta's 1978 hit, Grease, the week following Primary Colors.

But the main reason appears to be political. Universal believed the Monica Lewinsky scandal could only help their film. It seems to have been the reverse. Experts say the poor box office mirrors public weariness with White House scandals. However, political naivety seems also to have been at work. What neither the media nor Hollywood recalled was that half of Americans take no interest in Washington.

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Child row escalates

Iraqi leukaemia girl flies into Britain

Galloway shrugs off 'pawn' claims

Stuart Miller and Lucy Patton

A FOUR-YEAR-OLD Iraqi girl flew into London last night for leukaemia treatment as a political row over her visit escalated.

Mariam Hamza, from Basrah in southern Iraq, was due to be taken to hospital in London, accompanied by her grandmother, as Iraqi opposition groups stepped up their criticism of George Galloway, the Labour MP for Glasgow Kelvin, who arranged the visit.

His supporters last night brushed off claims that Mr Galloway and the Government had become pawns in a political game orchestrated by Saddam Hussein.

Sabbah al-Mukrah, a London-based Iraqi lawyer involved in the fund-raising effort for Mariam's medical costs, said: "If this girl does not get treatment, she will die. We have a four-year-old

girl and it takes the approval of the whole world to get her treatment. She is an example of the many thousands suffering in Iraq."

The girl will be assessed today by doctors, and, depending on her condition, will fly to Glasgow for treatment at Yorkhill hospital's Schiehallion Unit, a leading facility for the treatment of childhood cancers.

Her visit was only made possible after Mr Galloway secured the support of the Government. The visa process was speeded up while the Foreign Office persuaded the United Nations sanctions committee to have its no-fly ban lifted temporarily to allow her air ambulance to leave Iraqi airspace.

Her flight was paid for by the Commons Emergency Committee on Iraq, while Mr Galloway, who flew to Baghdad last Tuesday, covered his own expenses.

Earlier Mr Galloway was accused by Iraqi opponents of Saddam Hussein of allowing himself to have been used by



Mariam Hamza with her father in Baghdad yesterday and (above right) George Galloway. MAIN PHOTOGRAPH: JASSIM MOHAMMED

the dictator in a "media stunt". The Iraqi National Congress (INC) said that the suffering of Iraq's people could

only worsen if sanctions were scrapped, as it would free Saddam to spend cash needed for food and medicine on rebuilding his arsenal.

Nabeel Musawi, of the INC, said it was the Saddam regime, not the UN sanctions, which was starving Iraq of vital medical supplies. "Be-

fore sanctions were introduced, Iraq used to spend about £1.8 billion a year on food and medicine imported from abroad. Under the oil-



for-food deal, Saddam is allowed to import \$6.1 billion worth — more than three times more — but he refuses to do so. "Lifting the sanctions would simply mean diverting the funds away from the UN committee supervising the buying of food and medicine, and into Saddam's coffers, and he would use it to buy weapons. "The Saddam regime is using this trip as a blackmail to get sanctions lifted, but the last thing we Iraqis want is for Saddam to get his hands on the funds.

"It is very unfortunate that the Foreign Office and an MP from a democratic country should allow themselves to be used in this way."

Mr Musawi said that tens of thousands of children in Iraq were suffering from leukaemia and other cancers as a direct result of Saddam's use of chemical weapons on his own population during the 1980s.

The INC intends to send a list of sick children to the Foreign Secretary, Robin Cook, asking him whether they can also receive medical treatment in Britain.

A spokesman at the Royal Hospital for Sick Children, in Glasgow, said its medical director, Morgan Jamieson, had been concerned by television footage of the child broadcast on Tuesday night.

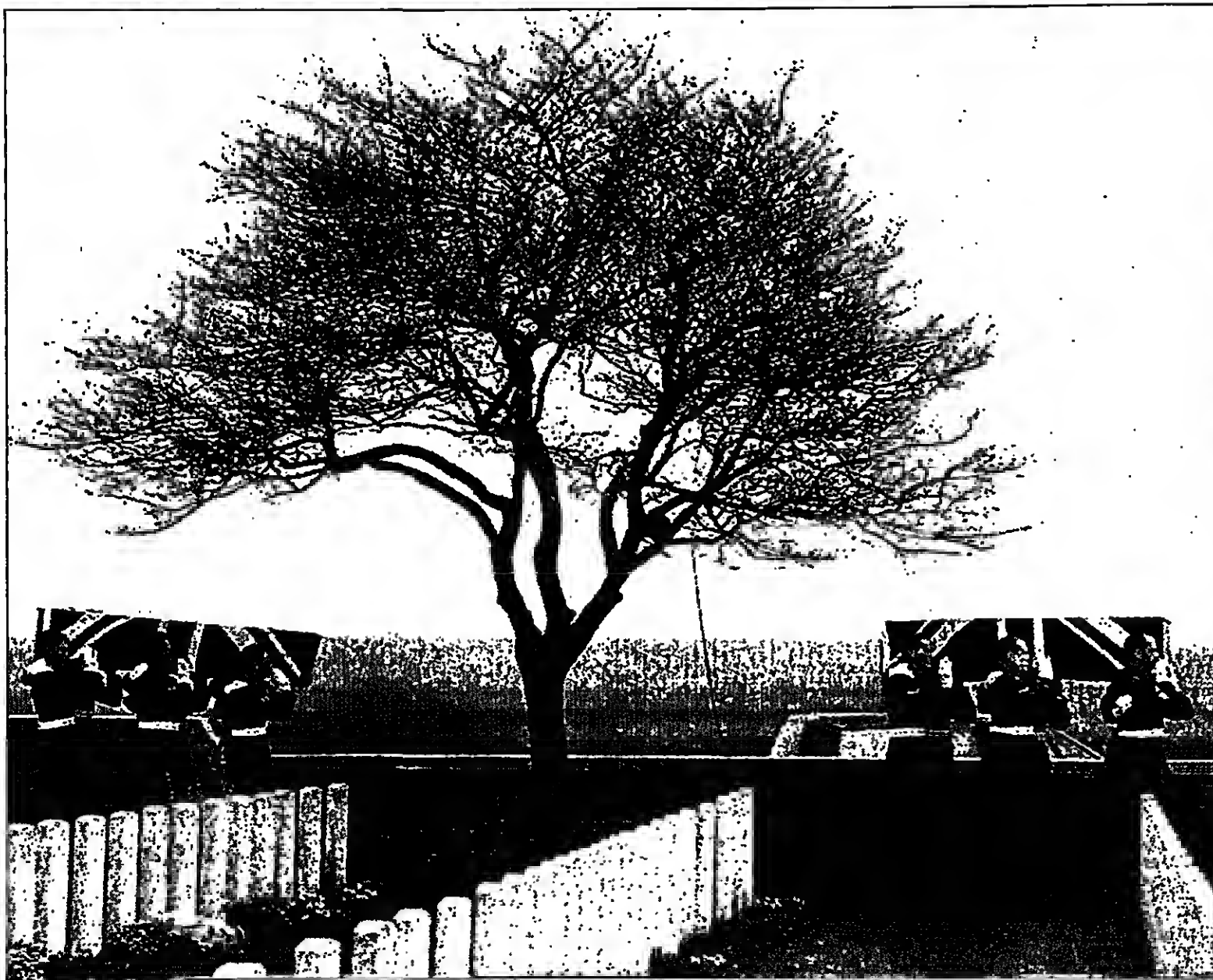
He said: "The clinicians feel the little girl looked more ill than they had been led to believe she was."

Jim Devine, senior regional officer for Unison, said yesterday that the union supported the move to bring Mariam to the UK.

"The nursing sector condemns the actions of Saddam Hussein, but it believes that this young girl should not be used as a political football, and should receive treatment here in Scotland with the minimum of fuss," he said.

Army and proud families honour trench war victims finally laid to rest

John Ezard on a Last Post sounded at Arras yesterday



Coffins of two of the three first world war soldiers buried yesterday arrive at the French cemetery near where they fell 81 years ago. PHOTOGRAPH: JOHN STELLWELL

IN A reaffirmed family spirit of sorrow and pride, two British first world war soldiers whose remains were discovered 81 years late received Christian burial close to where they fell yesterday.

Frank King, aged 23, and George Anderson, 30, were given named graves in the quiet fields of northern France for the first time since they died in the battle of Arras on April 11, 1917.

Their funerals were held in a small village cemetery at Monchy-le-Preux, which holds the bodies of 450 other dead among the total of 160,000 British casualties in the eight-day battle.

At their gravesides as the Last Post sounded stood 18 of their descendants, who were traced despite the gulf of time and memory. Frank

King's niece, Margaret Middleton, aged 62, of Chertton, Cambridge, said afterwards: "It was very moving. I can't imagine what it was like to have fought here on this land."

"I feel very sad but very proud". Private King was one of three brothers lost in the war.

Also there to honour them was an Arras veteran, Harry Wells, aged 98; the Duke of Kent, as colonel in chief of their regiment, the Royal Fusiliers; and the armed forces minister, John Reid. Dr Reid said: "I am here today because we promised never to forget".

Interred with them after a full military funeral was a third soldier, identified only as a Royal Fusilier. The three were among 27

victims found in a mass grave by archaeologists looking for Celtic remains on a site to be used for a motorway.

Privates King and Anderson, both from west London, were identified because they were among the first Western Front soldiers to be issued with metal name tags. It is thought they were injured in battle and died at a front-line field hospital, where they were buried in a makeshift grave later overrun in the tides of war.

Harry Wells said: "I feel very lucky being able to be here today. I was in hospital for two years with the effects of mustard gas. In 1920 they said that if I gave up wine, women and song, I might live for another 10 years".



British soldiers preparing for the burials with military honours. PHOTOGRAPH: PASCAL ROSSIGNOL

Anger brews over pay rises of NHS chiefs

David Brindle, Social Services Correspondent

PAY rises for chief executives of NHS trusts have been running at more than twice the level of those for nurses, according to a survey today, putting the average chief executive's annual earnings at £72,000.

The findings are likely to ensure a bumpy ride for Frank Dobson, Health Secretary, when he addresses the annual congress of the Royal College of Nursing in Bournemouth next Monday.

The survey, by pay researchers Incomes Data Services, shows that chief executives' basic salaries — set by each trust — went up an average 5.2 per cent in 1996/97. The same year, nurses were awarded a national rise of 2 per cent that was supposed to be topped up by trusts.

Following the widespread failure of local pay bargaining, however, the nurses' pay review body increased national wage scales by 2.8 per cent.

This year, the review body recommended a national rise of 3.8 per cent. But the Government has angered nurses by deciding to pay it in two stages.

Mr Dobson, who was given a standing ovation at the RCN

congress last year, just after the general election, will already have been prepared for a cooler reception on Monday.

The Health Secretary will argue that the IDS findings are part of the "legacy of shame" inherited from the last government and that he has acted to prevent a recurrence.

In a letter to health trusts, Mr Dobson has said they should take "all practical steps" to ensure that the cost of pay rises for senior managers this year should be limited to the 2.7 per cent that the staged nurses' award is costing.

The IDS research, based on the annual reports and accounts of 272 trusts, found that the average basic salary of chief executives was £67,000. The highest was £111,000 for Tim Matthews, of the Guy's and St Thomas' hospital trust in south London, followed by £104,000 for Keith Parsons, of Royal Liverpool and Broadgreen university hospitals. The average bonus payment was £5,000, but six chief executives each received a £14,000 top-up.

Bob Abberley, Unison's head of health, said: "The findings underline that there is still a long way to go before equality of treatment becomes a reality across the health service work force."

£1,000 award for woman called 'bimbo' by employer

AN estate agent ordered to pay a former female sales negotiator £1,000 compensation for sexual discrimination said yesterday: "I have learned a lesson."

An industrial tribunal in Exeter made the award to 37-year-old Elizabeth King, whose employer, Roger Hemming, admitted calling a "bimbo" and a "cloth-eared tart", and swearing in the office.

After the judgment, Mr Hemming — co-owner of the Wilkie and Hemming agency in Honiton, Devon — said there was a certain amount of swearing in the office.

But he said Miss King was "waxed from day one" about it. He added: "If she was really unhappy she had 18 months to do something about it."

He said: "There is hardly an office environment. I suspect, where there is not some sort of behaviour that could be deemed, when viewed as closely as this, as sexual discrimination." He added: "All I am prepared to say is I have learned a lesson."

Miss King claimed sexual discrimination; that she was treated less favourably than a man; and was subjected to remarks only applicable to a woman, which she found of a hostile and derogatory nature. She was dismissed by Mr Hemming for gross misconduct in November, after a row which erupted after she poked him in the chest and called him an idiot. Her claim for breach of contract relating to her notice was dismissed.

Designer makeover for men dressing badly

Ram Ahmed on the genesis of...



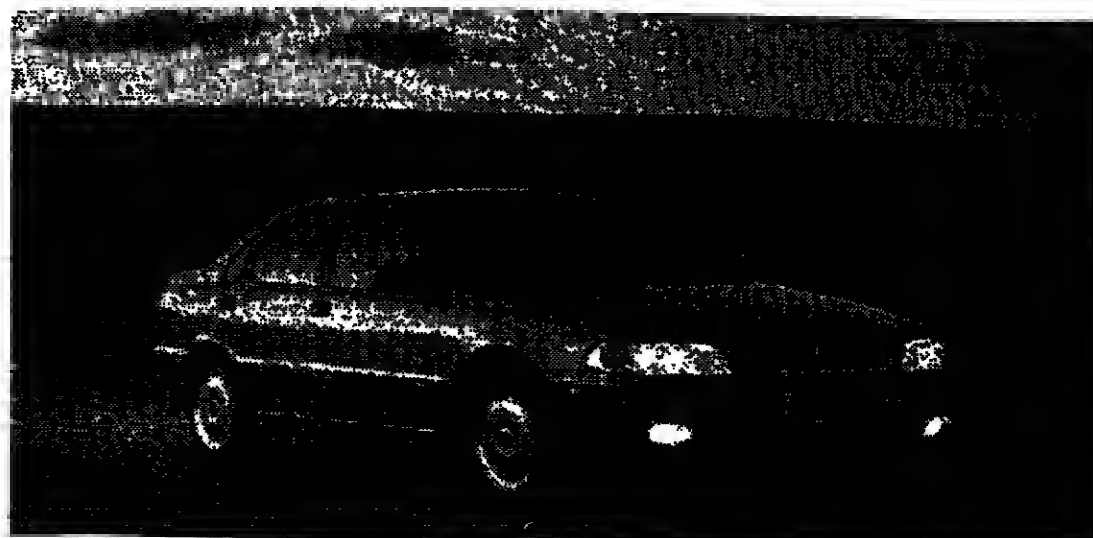
...the genesis of...

Army bans

...the genesis of...

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صبراً من الامم



A man tightening the knot on a Mickey Mouse tie which style consultants are keen to see eradicated from the thoughts and wardrobes of British men

PHOTOGRAPH: GRAHAM TURNER

Designer makeover for men dressing badly

Kamal Ahmed on the genesis of Brit-fop

Style counsel



Natty knight of the realm: Anthony Hopkins

IT COULD be the death knell for the Mickey Mouse tie and the black shirt. Britain's clothing industry will next month launch the first campaign to encourage men to dress more stylishly.

Called Dress for Success, the campaign will land the country's best dressed men and encourage Middle Britain's males to emulate them.

Names that will be put forward include Tony Blair, the soccer pundit Alan Hansen, comedian Jack Dee, musician Paul Weller and actor Sir Anthony Hopkins.

Fashion icons not to follow include Gyles Brandreth and his collarful sweaters, William Hague and his baseball cap, and Liam Gallagher — if you are over 30.

"Men in this country know very little about how to buy clothes," said Chris Scott-Grey, menswear director of the British Clothing Industry Association which is leading the campaign.

"They buy shirts and ties at different times and are then surprised that they don't match."

The campaign will en-

Dos and don'ts

DO: Wear well-fitting two-piece suits

DON'T: Throw out those washed-out hipster jeans

DON'T: Indulge in black shirts with light, patterned ties. Never wear white socks

DO: Wear shirts and ties that match

DON'T: Confuse dressing casually with dressing messily (rugby shirts and jeans are right out)

DO: Confuse dressing casually with dressing messily (rugby shirts and jeans are right out)

DON'T: Mix checks and stripes or think that pink and green match

and don'ts will help men make stylish decisions. A newspaper campaign will be part of the £200,000 drive, which will climax with a Dress for Success week in the run-up to autumn's London Fashion Week.

"Men need to understand that dressing well matters. It might be an MBA from Cambridge that gets you the interview but it is the suit that will get you the job," said Mr Scott-Grey, the former editor of Menswear magazine.

"Just follow a few simple rules and you will make much more of an impres-

sion. No shirt collars outside sweaters, no white socks, no coats shorter than your jacket and definitely don't think that a rugby shirt and jeans is fashionable casual wear.

"Also don't forget the iron, that's important."

Figures from the International Wool Secretariat, which promotes the use of wool in fashion, reveal that women take much more care over choosing their wardrobe than men.

Nearly 80 per cent of women said that they take fashion seriously while more than a third of men admitted that good clothing was not one of their priorities.

"You still meet men trying that pitiful I've got a funny tie trick" rather than actually wondering whether they look good," said Vivienne Berryman, marketing assistant at T M Lewin.

"Many men are more adventurous with the growth of fashion magazines and glossy advertising but there are still plenty who would not know that wearing stripes and checks is more likely to cause a road accident than admiring looks."

There have been only two cases worldwide of patients contracting HIV from health care workers: a Florida dentist who infected six patients, and a French orthopaedic surgeon who passed the disease to one patient.

Addenbrooke's said they did not know how long the midwife had been HIV positive, as her reappointment depended on investigations into her conduct.

A spokesman added: "We don't know whether she informed us as soon as she knew. Until now our prime concern has been for the patients. The issue of whether she did anything wrong has been secondary."

Pauline Couch, aged 28, from Slough, who gave birth to her daughter at Wexham Park hospital during the midwife's training period, admitted she was concerned by the news, although she was not among those women thought to be at risk.

"It's frightening and very worrying. I haven't been contacted by the hospital yet but I will phone the helpline for peace of mind. I know a lot of other women who had babies at the same time and I know they are going to be very worried," she said.

Mothers' alarm over HIV positive midwife

Amelia Gentleman

A MIDWIFE at a leading maternity hospital has been suspended after revealing that she is HIV positive, prompting alarm among thousands of women who gave birth there and at other hospitals where she worked.

Letters were yesterday sent by courier to 60 mothers who are thought to have been exposed to a risk of infection, as staff at Addenbrooke's hospital in Cambridge sought to reassure the public about the scale of the danger.

Aids tests and counselling were offered to 43 former patients, and 17 women from two other hospitals where the midwife worked. A telephone helpline was also opened to offer advice — but hospital staff stressed that the risk of infection was minimal.

Despite such reassurances, a number of women who gave birth in the affected maternity units admitted they were very worried. At least 10 of those contacted visited their hospitals immediately for blood tests and advice, and 400 more called the helpline.

The midwife, who has not been named, was working at Addenbrooke's Rosie Maternity Unit when she told colleagues about her condition last Friday. Senior hospital staff spent the Easter studying the birth records of all the women she looked after, to identify those who might have a risk of infection.

Consultant physician Chris Carne, from Addenbrooke's, stressed: "I want every mother who has had a baby at the Rosie to be assured that the risk of acquiring infection from a midwife is extremely low — there has never been a case reported in the world."

During her 10-year career, the midwife worked as a student at Heatherwood and Wexham Park hospital in Slough, from November 1988 to May 1990; at Addenbrooke's from September 1995

to November 1997; and then for a short time at the Princess Alexandra hospital in Essex before returning to Addenbrooke's NHS Trust this January. She also spent some time working abroad.

A check of hospital records identified 15 women from Wexham Park and two from the Princess Alexandra who may have been exposed to risk.

Department of Health guidelines identify three procedures a midwife can perform that could pose a risk of HIV infection: giving a local anaesthetic, stitching after delivery, or attaching a clip to the baby's head during delivery to monitor its heartbeat.

Any women not contacted by the hospitals did not undergo these procedures, staff said.

There have been only two cases worldwide of patients contracting HIV from health care workers: a Florida dentist who infected six patients, and a French orthopaedic surgeon who passed the disease to one patient.

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BBC 'puts core values at risk'

Kamal Ahmed Media Correspondent

SIR DAVID Attenborough, the television presenter who revolutionised wildlife programming with *Life on Earth*, launched a scathing attack on the BBC yesterday. He claimed it was in danger of diluting its commitment to make top quality programmes.

Sir David, who has made wildlife programmes for the BBC for more than 40 years, said that the corporation's attempts to enter the digital revolution put at risk its core values.

"I started broadcasting when there was a monopoly," he said during a lecture in Edinburgh last night. "There was only one television network in Europe, the BBC, and it has grown as it should."

However, if you are going to have 50 channels somehow you have to pay for that. The amount of money society has to put in will be so diminished that the quality of product will be diminished."

He said that the BBC had brought a wide range of programmes to viewers who may not have discovered certain interests if they had never seen them.

"The whole point of the monopoly situation was that you could watch a programme about ballroom dancing and it would be followed by a pro-

gramme on archaeology, and a high proportion of ballroom dancing fans would suddenly discover they were also interested in archaeology."

"The position is changing and instead of having that kind of universal network they are going to have specialised networks so what you will watch is something you already know you are interested in, and that's a pity."

The broadside comes at a sensitive time for the BBC which has been under attack for its rapid expansion into digital television and for a series of big commercial deals to sell its programmes worldwide.

Digital television, which will be launched later this year, will give viewers access to many more channels and will allow them to subscribe to specialist channels, such as UK Gold, a BBC commercial venture which shows repeats from the archive.

Sir David defended the licence fee but warned about the dangers of trying to change too rapidly.

"It's a cliché to say how admirable the broadcasting system in this country has been and it's partly down to the financial basis on which it is constructed."

"It should not be about selling products or any political ethos. I think the BBC has stood by that for the last 70-odd years, and it is now at a crossroads."

Army bans troops from resort

Owen Bowcott

ALL 4,000 British troops on Cyprus were yesterday banned from the resort of Ayia Napa for at least a week after an English holidaymaker lost an eye when he was allegedly assaulted by a drunken soldier.

The decision to place the seaside town, with its cheap bars and tourist disco, resort out of bounds for the entire British contingent reflects the army's heightened sensitivity over violent behaviour by off-duty soldiers.

Three members of the Royal Green Jackets regiment are currently serving

life sentences for the sexual assault and bledgoning to death of Louise Jensen, a 29-year-old Danish tour guide, in Ayia Napa in 1994.

The latest violence came in the early hours of Tuesday morning, when five members of the First Royal Tank Regiment were arrested by Cypriot police outside a disco following the alleged assault on Jeremy Caprio, aged 35, from Thornton, Lancashire.

Speaking from his bed in a local clinic yesterday, Mr Caprio described the incident as "one of those alcohol things. I didn't have a chance, they just started on me."

A group of men, knocked him to the ground and started kicking him when he came

out of the disco, he said. "I tried to get up a couple of times ... The last thing I remember is a boot coming into my face," he added.

His face was heavily bruised and swollen and his right eye bloodshot. "It was completely unprovoked," said his sister, Lisa, aged 23, who witnessed the assault. "Me and my cousin Paula tried to keep [the soldiers] off, but there wasn't much we could do."

The doctor treating him, Antonis Tsokkos, said yesterday: "[His] right eye has lost all vision. I think it cannot be fixed. He has to stay here for two or three days after the operation and he will probably go home on Sunday. He will

see a specialist there."

Four of the soldiers arrested have been released. A fifth is being interviewed by military police.

Their regiment is attached to the United Nations force patrolling the Green Line dividing the Turkish and Greek Cypriot sections of the island.

The decision to ban all British troops from Ayia Napa until the end of the Greek Cypriot Easter holiday, including those serving in the sovereign bases, was taken yesterday by the force commander, Major General Angus Ramsay.

Despite two years of curfews and restrictions on British troops visiting Ayia Napa after the killing of Ms Jensen,

there have been other brawls. Last August, the 1st battalion the King's Regiment, was banned from the resort after two young British holidaymakers were attacked as they left a disco with their girlfriends in the early hours. One man needed 22 stitches in his battered face.

His friend underwent a three-hour operation on a broken jaw. "This is extremely disappointing because it does not reflect the conduct of the vast majority of service personnel in Cyprus," a Ministry of Defence spokesman said yesterday.

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Aftermath of violence...

Jeremy Caprio

(left) in an

Ayia Napa

clinic after

the disco

incident

PHOTOGRAPH: PHILIP MARK



A man collapses as he waits for UN food aid to be distributed in Thiekhthou, Sudan, where famine has put thousands at risk. PHOTOGRAPH: CORINNE DUFRAY

Asia's economic crisis

Social chaos threatens in jobless toll

Andrew Higgins
in Hong Kong

ASIA'S economic crisis is throwing millions out of work, wiping out years of progress against poverty and risking social unrest, the International Labour Organisation warned yesterday in a report on the "disastrous social consequences" of the region's financial woes.

It predicted that unemployment will treble in Indonesia, Thailand and South Korea, the countries hardest hit by the turmoil that began last year on foreign exchange markets. The currencies have largely stabilised but the social pain and risk of political instability will increase in coming months.

Eddy Lee, the ILO's chief policy analyst, forecast at least two more years of hardship. "There has been a lot of spouting about Asian values," he said. "The rhetoric said: west, welfare, had. Now leaders can see the consequences. It is in their own self interest to have a minimum social protection."

The collapse of what had been rapidly rising economic

expectations and the absence of any safety net in most Asian countries has created "fertile ground for breeding social unrest", said the report, which will be presented to trade union and government officials in Bangkok next week.

Most vulnerable are migrant workers and women, the backbone of a cheap, mobile and docile labour force that powered the region's now spluttering "economic miracle". The number of migrant labourers grew from about a million in the early 1980s to more than 6.5 million last year, many of whom now face not only unemployment but expulsion as the factories that employ them set up.

The World Bank said earlier this week that the number of Indonesians living in poverty will more than double to 20 million.

With the exception of South Korea, Asian countries have weak labour movements, a legacy of authoritarian traditions. China and Indonesia, east Asia's biggest countries, permit only state-controlled unions.

"One of the clear lessons of this crisis is the need to move towards greater democracy in



Fears of unrest are mounting in Indonesia, where students confronted police in Bandung yesterday. PHOTOGRAPH: PIRHAN RAYKAT

decision-making," Mr Lee said. "Trade unions are a key pillar of this democracy."

Asia's jobless rate is un-

likely to go beyond the highest levels seen in western Europe or the former Soviet bloc, but is potentially more explosive

because of weak or non-existent welfare provisions. "The whole system in these countries was driven by very

high rates of growth leading to very high rates of employment," Mr Lee said. "This is potentially very dangerous."

Brothers fall out in feud over Australia's 'wharfies'

Christopher Zinn
in Melbourne

VERY public family rift has come to symbolise the bitterness caused by the industrial dispute on Australia's waterfront, which yesterday degenerated into further violence and the threat of national strikes.

Chris Corrigan, the controversial businessman who last week sacked 1,400 "wharfies" to try to break the Maritime Union's stranglehold on the docks, has found his trade unionist brother attacking him on almost every front page.

Derek Corrigan went public

to condemn his older brother's union-breaking, which he claimed would result in Australians working for Third World wages.

The dispute has sparked industrial unrest and rowdy picket lines unseen for years. "This is an extremely black day for the working class. You can't crack a walnut with a sledgehammer," said Derek Corrigan, a member of the Australian Manufacturing Workers' Union.

Chris Corrigan is the executive chairman of Patrick's, a large stevedoring company which appears to have been planning the showdown with the federal government for

months. He seems to have been stung by his brother's outburst. "I'm very saddened he used this opportunity to bring [the dispute] into the

junctions to stop pickets operating at docks at Sydney, Newcastle and Fremantle.

Patrick's lodged writs with the supreme court in two

national strikes and further

harm on the waterfront if any injunctions are granted.

Some pickets have refused police orders to abandon their demonstration.

The move came as the Labour opposition leader, Kim Beazley, tried to calm the violence.

The government and farmers' groups, which depend on exporting their produce, have backed the action against the Maritime Union. They claim that the union encourages archaic and inefficient work practices which damage the economy.

The federal government, which has set up soft loans to help Patrick's finance the

redundancy bill, has warned unionists there will be no early end to the dispute.

The workplace relations minister, Peter Reith, said: "I think it is fair to say it is a war of attrition but they have to understand the government is very resolved about this."

Opinion polls show many Australians probably agree with the brothers' father, Douglas, a lifelong trade unionist and Labour voter, who said: "If they just get in and do a decent bloody day's work for a bloody day's pay, the whole of the nation would be behind them, not only Chris but every other person in the country."

states to prevent pickets interfering with operations at the terminals, and is seeking damages for restraint of trade, trespass and intimidation. Unions have warned of

family arena," he said. Last night the unions, already bound by laws preventing secondary picketing, were served with temporary in-

"If they just do a decent bloody day's work for a bloody day's pay, the whole of the nation would be behind them, every person in the country."

Red tide turns China against Hong Kong as farm-fish die

AP in Hong Kong

IN THE second health crisis in five months for which Hong Kong and China are blaming each other, red tide algae have wiped out half Hong Kong's farm fish since mid-March, threatening to put fish farmers out of business.

Mainland Chinese officials have told the Hong Kong government they believe the problem, also affecting mainland China fish farms, may have originated in Hong Kong, the territory's South China Morning Post reported. Hong Kong officials earlier said they suspected Chinese waters as the source, and Hong Kong environmentalists say south China's marine pollution made this red tide the worst for 10 years.

The algae, which soak up oxygen and release toxins, have affected 80 per cent of Hong Kong's 1,500 farms.

Pol Pot awaits handover to an uncertain fate

Nick Cumming-Bruce
in Bangkok

THE fate of Pol Pot, the leader of one of the century's most brutal tyrannies, again hung in the balance yesterday, as a commander of the Khmer Rouge guerrillas he once led said they were willing to hand him over to the international community to be tried for crimes against humanity.

"We have no problem with handing him over but we have not yet decided who to approach," Khem Nguon, a commander of the dwindling band of Khmer Rouge fighters who toppled their last main base, at Anlong Veng in northern Cambodia, and retreat into the mountains bordering Thailand.

"I need nothing," General Nguon said. "I need to end the

war, to get rid of Pol Pot from the movement in order to end the war."

His comment coincided with renewed initiatives by the United States to prepare for the handover of Pol Pot and his trial by an international tribunal.

White House officials revealed the initiative after unconfirmed reports that the Khmer Rouge had handed Pol Pot to the Thai military on the Cambodian border for safe-keeping when they pulled out of Anlong Veng.

Taking delivery of Pol Pot is only the first of several obstacles to putting him on trial. The US is looking into holding him in custody pending a trial, but it is unclear where such a trial might take place.

Proposals to create an international tribunal in The Hague would require the approval of the United Nations Security Council and would probably encounter Chinese opposition to any trial of Pol Pot, Beijing's former protégé.

Leader comment, page 9

Land dealer 'killed by Arafat's men'

David Sharrock
in Jerusalem

YASSER ARAFAT's secret services were accused yesterday by human rights activists of murdering a Palestinian who was suspected of carrying out land deals with Jews.

Mohammed Angawi, a contractor who was married with 10 children, went missing more than a week ago from the village of Beit Seera in the West Bank.

On Monday his body was found near the Palestinian-controlled West Bank city of Ramallah. Angawi, who was suspected by the Palestinian police of arranging land deals and being a paid informer for Israel, had been shot nine times.

Bassam Eid, director of the Palestinian Human Rights Monitoring Group in the occupied territories, said he suspected Palestinian secret services were behind the murder. Mr Eid said Angawi disappeared the same day he was invited for questioning at

the office of General Tawfiq Thrawi, the head of the Palestinian general intelligence service in Ramallah.

"We demand that the Palestinian Authority opens an immediate investigation into his killing," Mr Eid said. The Palestinian attorney general in Ramallah said there would be an investigation into Angawi's death.

Two years ago Angawi was detained for 20 days on suspicion of collaborating with Israel, but was released without charge.

In May and June last year three Palestinians who were suspected of selling land to Jews were murdered. Since the Palestinian Authority assumed control of areas of the West Bank, 20 Arabs held on charges of collaboration have died in prison, Mr Eid said.

Israel, meanwhile, yesterday released its longest-serving Palestinian administrative detainee, who had been held without trial for nearly six years.

Abdullah Katameh, believed to be one of the West Bank's most senior members of the Popular Front for the Libera-

tion of Palestine, had been held at Damon prison in northern Israel since September 1992.

Mr Katameh was originally charged with possession of a false identification card and illegal documents. After two military courts agreed to release him on bail, he was placed under administrative detention and has been held ever since.

Administrative detainees are jailed for renewable six-month periods by military order. About 300 detainees remain in Israeli prisons, although several dozen have been released after a recent high-profile campaign.

"I have no doubt that Katameh was released because of public pressure," his lawyer, Leah Tsamel, said.

● Palestinian police detained all nine members of the Islamic University student council, apparently because of their involvement in organising a rally critical of the Palestinian Authority, an official for the militant Islamic group Hamas said yesterday. The nine were activists in Hamas's youth movement, he said.

News in brief

Abortion ban stands for raped women

ALGERIA'S Islamic authority has denied a report that it had decided to let women raped by Islamic militants have abortions. Militants have reportedly raped about 1,600 women since their insurgency began in 1992, prompting government officials to appeal to religious authorities for an exception to the country's abortion ban.

On Sunday, the Arab-language daily El Khabar reported that the High Islamic Council had issued a fatwa authorising "women raped by the terrorists to end their pregnancies". But the council said it had issued no fatwa, saying only that it had received a request from the ministry of solidarity and the family. That request was incomplete and any request had to come from the president, Lamine Zeroual. — AP, Algiers.

Lima lawyer seeks asylum

A FORMER judge who heads Lima's Bar Association has flown to Costa Rica seeking political asylum, saying the Peruvian government is persecuting her.

Della Revoredo, a constitutional court judge ousted last year by President Alberto Fujimori's supporters in congress, said she "feared for her life because the government was determined to silence her criticism of judicial reform. Her husband, Jaime Mur, accompanied her to San José. He says that an accusation that she smuggled cars is "political persecution". — Reuters, Lima.

Tehran mayor gets bail

TEHRAN'S mayor was freed on bail yesterday, a day after riot police clashed with thousands of his supporters.

Iran's top leader, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, is believed to have intervened on behalf of Gholamhosein Karbaschi, who was arrested on April 4 on corruption charges. Mr Karbaschi had become the focus of a power struggle between moderates and hardliners within the Islamic government. — AP, Tehran.

Aid workers kidnapped

GUNMEN yesterday kidnapped 10 aid workers from a small airstrip north of Somalia's capital, Mogadishu, the Red Cross said. "We are trying all we can do to have them freed," a spokesman said. He could not say how many of the captives were foreigners.

Since the overthrow of the dictator Mohammed Siad Barre in 1991, Somalia has been carved up into fiefdoms. Kidnappings are a common way of extorting money. — Reuters, Nairobi.

Four die in Bangladesh strike



Bangladeshi riot police stand by in Dhaka yesterday as home-made bombs explode during clashes between supporters and opponents of a general strike. Police said four people died in the unrest. PHOTOGRAPH: RAFOUR RAHMAN

Journalist in hiding

MUSLIM fundamentalists in Bangladesh are demanding the hanging of a reporter who is accused of defaming Islam. Benzin Khan of the Lok Samaj, a Bengali daily in Jessore, about 140 miles south-west of Dhaka, has gone into hiding after both he and his editor were sacked by the newspaper's publisher.

According to news reports, Mr Khan wrote that the Eid festival, which demands the sacrifice of hundreds of thousands of animals across the country, was outdated. — Arshad Mahmud, Dhaka.

Havel recovering well

CZECH President Vaclav Havel was in "surprisingly good condition" yesterday after emergency surgery in Austria to remove part of his gut, but his surgeon warned that complications could still arise. Mr Havel was on holiday when he was taken ill.

In Prague, parliament gave its final approval to the Czech Republic becoming one of the first former Soviet bloc countries to join Nato. — Reuters, Innsbruck.

Pill to calm canine nerves

DOGS that lose their cool when their owners leave them may be calmed down with a new medicine, the pharmaceutical company Novartis said yesterday. The company said it had approved to market Cicalmalm in the European Union. "This innovative medication offers veterinarians a fast-acting, effective way of easing the symptoms of separation anxiety," it said. — AP, Basel.

online

Every Thursday in the
The Guardian INTERNATIONAL

سورة من الامم

MEPs gain power over central bank

The European Parliament has gained more power over the central bank, a move that has been welcomed by many in the financial world. The new powers will allow the parliament to scrutinize the bank's actions more closely and to propose changes to its policies. This is seen as a significant step towards greater transparency and accountability in the way the central bank operates.

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MEPs gain power over central bank

Martin Walker in Brussels

THE NEW European Central Bank is to be answerable to elected officials after an agreement with far-reaching constitutional implications between members of the European Parliament and the legislatures of the 15 member states.

The bank, whose independence from political influence was guaranteed by the Maastricht treaty in an effort to reassure the markets, will twice a year face a special committee of MEPs and chairmen of the finance committees of the 15 national parliaments.

The new committee, known as the European Forum, will give British MEPs the opportunity to review the central bank's annual report and question the euro zone's bankers on policy and interest rate decisions, even while Britain remains outside the single currency.

It also establishes an institutional link between the European Parliament and the national legislatures which could strengthen the powers of parliaments in European economic policy-making.

The twice-yearly appearances of the bank before the Forum group are expected to become important events. Like the closely-watched appearances before congressional committees of the United States central banker, Alan Greenspan, they are likely to become the occasion for market-shifting policy statements.

The European Parliament had faced difficulties in its campaign to impose accountability on this central bank similar to the US Federal Reserve Board's accountability to Congress. By enlisting the national parliaments, it increased its bargaining power. It has also established a precedent of parliamentary co-operation which could

challenge the dominance of national governments in the EU through the Council of Ministers.

The parliamentary hearings are modelled on the US Congress system, but the European Parliament has further demands under negotiation. These include publication within a day of summaries of the bank's board meetings, with full minutes within three months.

These issues are politically charged as Europe's finance ministers wrangle about who is to head the bank, between the favourite, Wim Duisenberg, the head of the European Monetary Institute, and the French candidate Jean-Claude Trichet — or a possible compromise figure such as Luxembourg's prime minister, Jean-Claude Juncker.

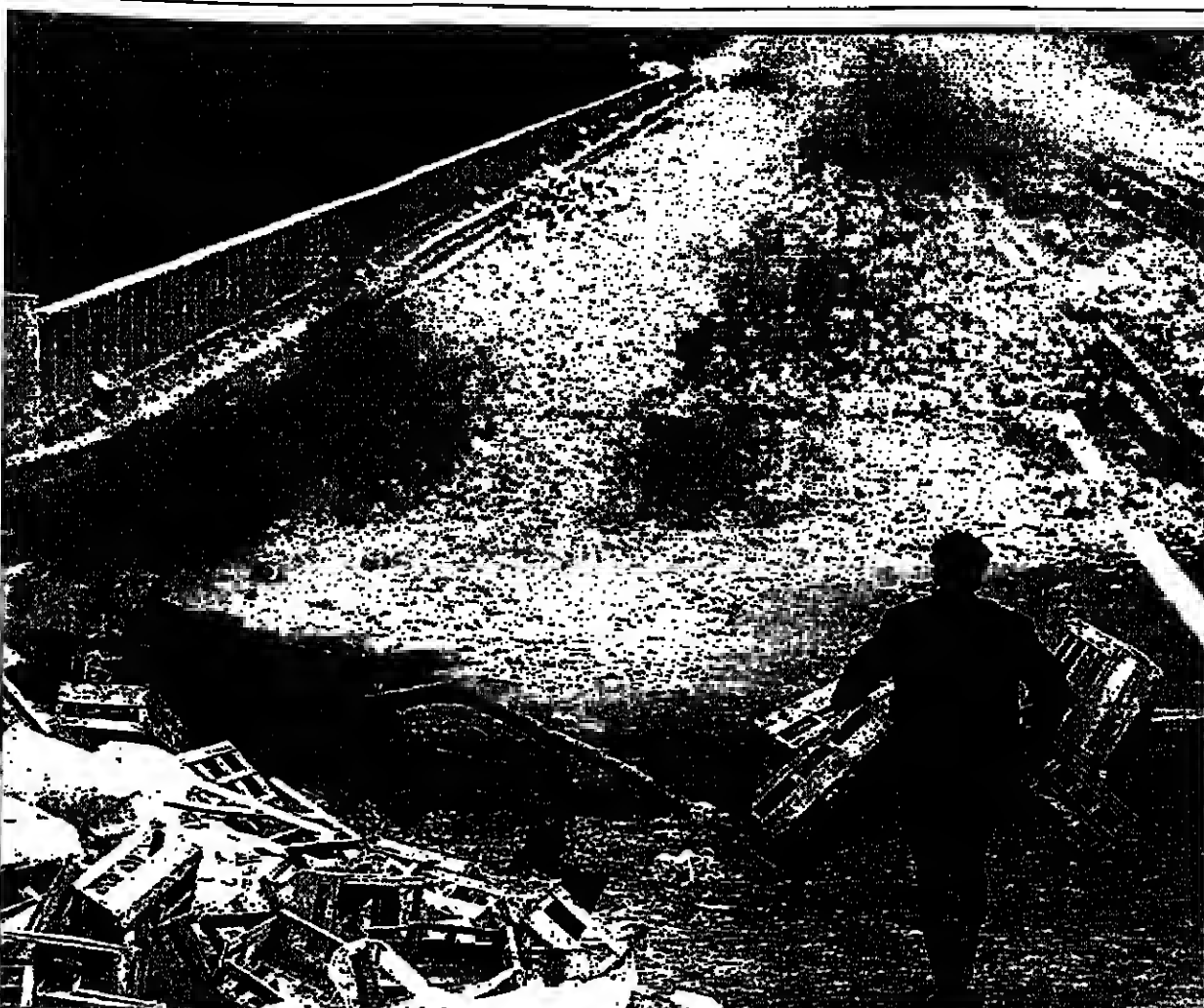
The initiative was led by the British Labour MEP for Tyne and Wear, Alan Donnelly, who is monetary spokesman for the Socialist grouping in the European Parliament, and by the chairman of the Commons Treasury Committee, Giles Radice.

"This will strengthen dramatically the oversight role of parliaments, both European and national, over the new central bank and introduce the principle of democratic accountability to a crucial area of economic policy-making," Mr Donnelly said yesterday.

"We have said all along that Europe's monetary policy and its interest rates are too important to be left to the central bankers."

The first meeting of the Forum group is to be convened in Brussels in June, during the British presidency, by the monetary committee chairwoman, Christa Randzio-Plath, and by Mr Radice.

"This is a very good idea, and it is probably best that it begins as an informal arrangement to increase co-ordination and then build on that," Mr Radice said.



Dumped cauliflowers block a road near Morlaix, Brittany, yesterday. French farmers are demanding state aid as low prices for the vegetable threaten their livelihood

Documents show Germany built WW1 'death strip'

Ian Traynor in Bonn

A GERMAN electrified 'death strip' built to foil spies, escapees and the ideological enemy was not a product of cold war division but was erected in 1915, during the first world war, by Kaiser Wilhelm II in what is now the core of the European Union.

According to new research published today, the Netherlands was separated from Belgium by an electrified fence running for more than 100 miles — an astonishing technological feat for the time. An estimated 8,000 people died by electrocution on the border between 1915 and 1918.

A University of Antwerp historian, Alex Vanneste, has spent years researching the little-known 'Fortress Germany' policy that led the Berlin authorities to seal German-occupied Belgium off from the Netherlands.

In an article published today by the liberal Ham-

burg weekly Die Zeit, Mr Vanneste says that the death strip ran 110 miles from Aachen, west of Bonn, to Brugge on the North Sea.

He has spent seven years researching the subject and has located documents and photographs in the German and Dutch archives which prove the existence of the death strip.

Mr Vanneste contends that Berlin was tired of the smuggling that occurred across the Dutch-Belgian border and was also alarmed at the hordes of spies penetrating German-controlled territory from the Netherlands.

Local factories were dragged into powering the 2,000-volt fence.

Die Zeit says that the existence of the electrified line, erected two generations before the Berlin Wall and the death strip between the two Germanys of the cold war, had been suspected for many years but that historians and experts had scoffed at the notion.

Wanted: safe home for napalm train

Martin Kettle in Washington

UNWANTED, unloved and potentially devastating, a trainload of deadly Vietnam war-era napalm was yesterday rolling across north Texas and Oklahoma in search of someone who would give it a home.

The napalm — an incendiary petroleum jelly that became notorious when it was used by United States forces 30 years ago — was the first part of a shipment on route from California to an Indiana waste processing company.

But when Vietnam-era radicals and environmentalists near the East Chicago processing plant got wind that the napalm was coming their way, their protests forced Pollution Control Industries (PCI) to back out of its contract to dis-

pose of the infamous compound. As a result, the napalm train was yesterday in limbo somewhere in the middle of the US, while navy officials debated what to do with it.

The napalm is part of the 10,000 tons of the chemical left over when US troops were forced to withdraw from Vietnam in 1973. For 25 years it has been stored in more than 34,000 green canisters on open ground near San Diego.

But while the napalm itself may have been forgotten, memories of what it can do have remained crystal clear. Images of flaming Vietnamese jungles and, above all, of a flaming and naked Vietnamese girl made manufacturers Dow Chemicals a target of anti-war protests.

Napalm is a mixture of petrol, polystyrene and benzene, invented during the second world war. It sticks to any-

thing it touches and burns slowly at high temperatures. It also depletes the air of oxygen and can asphyxiate those in its vicinity.

It was used regularly in the Korean and Vietnam wars, where it was renamed Incendigel. During the Gulf war, US forces reportedly dropped napalm on Iraqi fortifications.

Over the years, the navy has looked at various options for reprocessing the napalm, but without great urgency. But in December, after some of the canisters began to leak, the navy agreed to pay PCI \$2.6 million to recycle it over a two-year period, with 12,000 gallons of napalm travelling across the country each week by train.

The decision triggered a huge protest in Indiana, with campaigners objecting to the secrecy and charging that PCI's safety record was not up

A deadly jelly

Ingredients: Petrol (33 per cent), benzene (21 per cent) and polystyrene (46 per cent).

Origin: Invented in 1943 by Louis Fieser, a Harvard chemist, in co-operation with the US army.

Military use: First used in firebombs during the second world war. Because it burns more slowly and at higher temperatures than pure petrol, it allowed the weapons to have a larger range. Because it also depletes the air of oxygen,

when it is used in a cave or a bunker it can asphyxiate the defenders without burning them. It was used regularly in the Korean and Vietnam wars. In the Gulf war, allied forces reportedly dropped napalm on Iraqi tank obstacles.

No RIP for VIPs as virtual reality arrives

Christopher Reed in Los Angeles

IN THE ultimate Tinseltown sequel, dead stars of the golden age who lie in the Hollywood Memorial Park cemetery are to be marked in computerised form to entertain visitors to their tombstones.

The heart-throb Rudolph Valentino, the first best actor Oscar winner Janet Gaynor, and stars such as Douglas Fairbanks senior, Tyrone Power, Peter Finch and Charlie Chaplin are among 400 celebrities — and 77,000 other folk — who thought the Santa Monica cemetery would be their last resting place.

But there is no rest in Hollywood if your name is still a draw.

Now a new company called

Hollywood Forever Inc will market the stories of the cemetery's famous departed. Sound-proofed kiosks dotted around the 62-acre grounds will show virtual reality images of the stars, complete with photographs, film clips and narrative about the lives of the stars.

Designed to fit into the "mausoleum style" of architecture, the kiosks will be available at no charge to visitors to the 100-year-old plot.

The entrepreneur who sees no RIP for the VIP is Tyler Cassidy, who paid \$375,000 for the now dilapidated cemetery.

"It's really a heart and soul purchase," he said. "Our core is stories and biographies of the dead."

Other cemeteries will be offered virtual reality tombs, said Mr Cassidy, who first developed digital biographies of dead people at a cemetery in

St Louis, Missouri. But the real money in the Hollywood project will come from cremations.

Few Americans are cremated but it is slowly becoming more popular. If that is the word, and California leads the US, Mr Cassidy hopes visitors will like the Hollywood graveyard so much they will choose to have their ashes stored near Hollywood's greatest.

All this will no doubt cause many of the interred to turn in their graves. But Mr Cassidy is undeterred.

"This will become a vital cemetery," he declared.

Mel Blanc, the man of 100 cartoon voices including Bugs Bunny, had his character's sign-off written on his tombstone. It says: "That's all folks." Clearly, neither Blanc nor the rabbit anticipated the digital age.

Clinton seeks trade ties with 'quiet revolution'

Thomas Lippman in Washington

PRESIDENT Bill Clinton begins a four-day visit to Chile today, where he will be the guest of President Eduardo Frei and attend the second Summit of the Americas with leaders from all western hemisphere countries except Cuba.

Senior advisers said his objectives include expanding trade and cementing friendly relations with Chile and Brazil, which were once at odds with Washington but have joined Latin American moves toward democracy and free-market reforms.

Mr Clinton is spending more time abroad in his second term than in his first. Last month he visited six

African countries. After Chile he is scheduled to visit Germany, Britain and probably Northern Ireland in May, followed by China in June.

His trips provide a respite from media scrutiny of his private life. But his senior advisers say the visits were scheduled long before anyone in Washington had heard of Monica Lewinsky.

Mr Clinton convened the first hemispheric summit in Miami in December 1994, and the White House national security adviser, Samuel Berger, said he was committed to forging a new relationship with Latin American and Caribbean countries, based on their "quiet revolution" — the transition to democracy and the free market.

As Mr Berger noted, Mr Clinton last year visited Mex-

ico, Central America, the Caribbean, Venezuela, Brazil and Argentina.

Mr Clinton had hoped to go to Santiago armed with "fast track" authority from Congress to negotiate the creation of a hemisphere-wide Free Trade Area of the Americas, as was agreed at Miami.

Congress balked at that, but Mr Berlusconi and other officials said negotiations would begin in Santiago anyway. She said: "The formal launch of these negotiations, following 3½ years of preparatory work, ensures the realisation of the Miami vision."

Thomas McLarty, Mr Clinton's chief adviser on the Americas, said last week that the administration was confident it would gain fast-track authority, but did not need it to begin negotiations. — Washington Post



Canadian Elizabeth Lamont (centre) is embraced by campaigners for foreign prisoners' rights group at a Sao Paulo prison, where her sister Christine Lamont is being held for a 1989 kidnapping. She was declared ineligible for Brazil's new laws allowing foreigners to serve sentences at home because of a hunger strike

Brazil's poor march for land

Alex Belles in Rio de Janeiro

UP TO 100,000 rural workers will take to the streets in Brazil's main cities tomorrow as the radical Landless

Movement intensifies its fight for land reform. The demonstrations — to commemorate the 1996 massacre of 19 workers squatting on private land — come amid heightened tensions and violence between the landless and landowners.

Since January the Landless Movement has stepped up its "land invasions", in which thousands of workers squat on private land until they are given ownership. There have been 100 this year, and the total is expected to reach 500 by 1999.

He drank excessively, married four times, slept with innumerable women and sometimes treated them violently.
The life of Lawrence Durrell

Books, G2 page 8

Comment

Diary

Matthew Norman

ATTEMPTS to unlock the mysterious Tory minister featured in Gyles Brandreth's diary of the last days of the Conservative government, as serialised in the Sunday Telegraph, continue. You will recall that Gyles, then a whip, mentions this enigmatic figure missing a crucial vote on January 23 1997. "I think we can guess where he is," he wrote. "A little earlier, I heard him boasting: 'I've got some right high-class shank tonight. I'm going to take her home and knock her right'." My colleague Simon Bowers rang Gyles yesterday to pose the obvious question. "My diary speaks for itself," he replied, gnomically, after the style of the oracle at Delphi. A little hint, then, off the record? "Not even a hint or a nudge, I'm afraid." We try a nudge or two. Gyles pauses. "I'm not saying anything about anybody." And there we left it. A check reveals that the only votes were amendments to the Education Bill. It will take some time to isolate the missing minister. But the net is already closing in, and we'll catch him in the end.

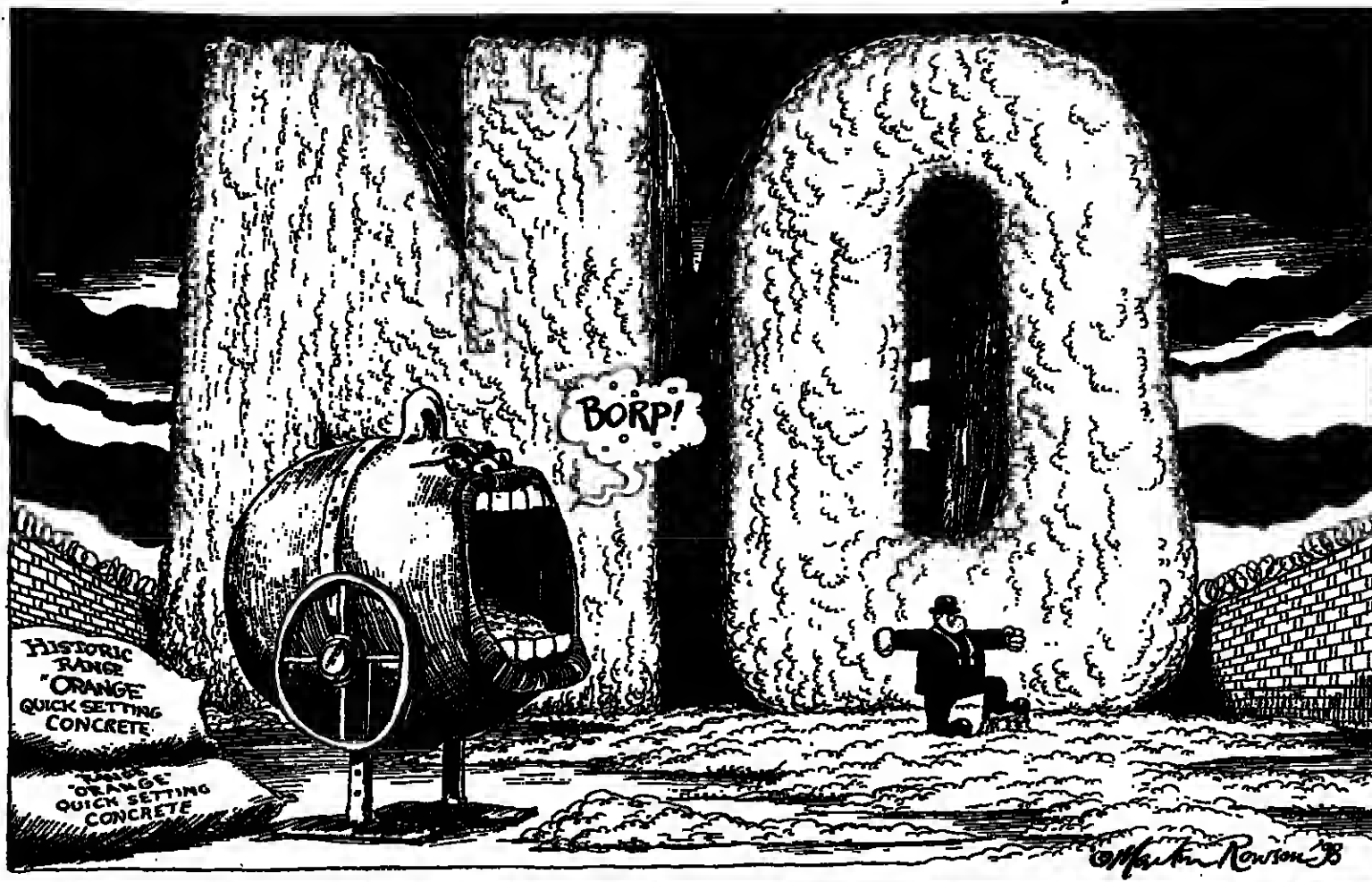
BY the way, it is just possible that some of you suspect the then armed forces minister, Paddy "Nicholas" Soames. In fact, he voted on all four amendments. Shame on you for thinking that "Nicholas" would use such language. Totty, perhaps, and skirt almost certainly. But never Shank.

PROFESSOR Joan Freeman writes from London, enclosing a fascinating article entitled "Is there moral giftedness?" The author admits that morality "is an elusive topic", and raises the thorny old subject of Dabrowski's theory of Positive Disintegration (not to mention Kohlberg's "well-known Cognitive Developmental approach"), one the diary has always found a shade simplistic. The author is William J. Hague, of Alberta University in Canada. Our own young Mr Hague's middle name, you will need little reminding, is Jefferson. What the hell's the little bleeder up to now?

THE Cambridge Union prepares to welcome the most illustrious forensic talent since Jim Bowen of TV's Bullseye last addressed the young scholars. On April 30, Mr Max Clifford, will propose the motion "This house would anaesthetise the spin doctor". Oddly, not everyone approached seems willing to share the platform with Maximilian. Mandy Manderson, although initially interested, has declined to oppose him, while no fewer than three Tory front benchers — Norman Fowler, Francis Maude and Michael Ancram — pulled out last week. Max will now be partnered by Bruce Anderson, the anorexic political pundit.

THE second contender for April's PC Brains is a certain Mr Sean Williams (we don't stand on rank here) who is attached to the nick in Whitechapel, east London. When a team of officers was summoned to investigate a decomposing body, the sarge had a brain-wave, and rushed off — in a northerly direction — to the address with a can of air freshener, and charged into the flat outside which the coppers were standing. Upon exiting the property, Police magazine records, his colleagues politely inquired why he had exhausted every last millimetre of the spray on the flat of the person who had reported the death, when they were about to enter the unsprayed residence of the deceased two doors down. Stripes off, Sarge.

MY FRIEND HAS BEEN SICK THROUGH THE NIGHT. SICK.



Labour is so right-wing that the old hard right has lost its voice



Hugo Young

THE mellowing of Newt Gingrich is a millennial tragedy. An icon before whom pilgrims worshipped is no more. In the early 1990s, the British right, journeying to Washington, tried to touch the hair of his fib-stripes. The then editor of the Sunday Telegraph fashioned a reverential interview with him out of five minutes' breathless conversation. This was the hard man to whom neo-Thatcherites could turn for comfort. But alas, the hard man now wears lumber-jack shirts over his health-farm slenderness, and has written a confessional book announcing his transfer to the pre-presidential centre.

The British watched their own domestic conversion a little while before. Michael Portillo, who entered the 1997 election as the rightist hard man to capture the post-Major Conservative Party, left it brooding on a savage personal defeat. The lessons he drew made him Newt's Baptist. At the Tory Party conference, he announced he had become a new man, distinguished by humility and compassion. The politician who once scoured the "studied amorality" of state welfare, now reflected apologetically on the party that was "thought to favour greed", was "linked to harshness" and "disgusted" many.

As a marketing strategy, if no more, hard right politics have evidently had their day. When Gingrich almost wiped out Clintonism in the 1994 Congressional elections, his pitch was populist. Anti-welfare, isolationist, pro-gun, anti-environment, intensely individualist: new Republicans, espousing what they called the people's suppressed agenda, took over the legislature. But now populism says differently. If you

want to be a presidential candidate, slim down, mellow out, seek the centre. Gingrich's popularity rating, once in the low teens, is closing up on 40 per cent. The old Portillo, classically qualified to be a hard-fac'd election loser, knows that, unless perceptions of him change likewise, he may never grace the Commons again.

Even as marketing, this tells us something about politics. Have these former ideologues really changed their minds? Are they stepping back from their convictions, the better to revive them once power has been resumed? This may be how they explain themselves to their friends. But it's pretty well beside the point. Although it is interesting that Portillo's old brand of politics no longer works with voters, it's even more interesting that hard rightism, in the Anglo-Saxon world, perhaps has nothing more to say. What, any longer, makes British rightwing politics both plausible and distinctive? Only nostalgia, with particular reference to the Conservative Party's hostility to the European Union. For the rest, not merely are the official Tories groping for an issue, but the ideological think-tanks, the engines of rightist ideas, can do little more than quibble at the cosmetic edge of Government actions. The concept of the minimal state is an example.

Once at the heart of both British rightism and Tory futurism, it is now widely reckoned to be utopian world-play whose practical implications most voters, in the US at least half as much as the UK, find repellent. Lacking a serious constituency, the minimal state has lost many prophets who, not long ago, proposed it as the great leap forward for the revolution.

The death of hard rightism is partly due to the birth of soft rightism within the ruling Labour Party. Thatcherism has already had its victory there. A New Labour that believes in markets, abandons equality, embraces welfare reform and has redefined social justice as the ability to work, is, in part, a purveyor of the rightist agenda. To some extent, Portillo has had his world stolen from under him, and is obliged to adapt accordingly.

BY NO stretch of the most malign imagination, however, could Tony Blair be called a hard rightist, a secret Gingrichite. He believes in the state, buries his rule, sees it as the agent of change, of social justice. He moved Labour to the right, but not the far right — which has never willed. The hard right's failure to build a platform derives from its inability to cope with the ceaseless world he commands. It once contributed to redefining the centre, but can now find nothing that remains to be said, except for the sterility of outdated nationalism and bunkered anti-Europeanism. As the descriptor of a new kind of future, the hard right is, for the moment, finished.

There are exceptions to this pattern, but they tell us little from which a Portilloite, or even a Gingrichite, would draw much encouragement. The growth of the far right in parts of the continent is ominous. Whether or not these manifestations deserve to be labelled fascist, they're certainly a threat to the governing consensus. The National Front collects a steady 15 per cent of the vote in France, and only a belated access of courage among regional fragments of the mainstream right pre-

vented it gaining important power-bases in recent elections. The Vlaams Blok is a power in Belgium, exerting insidious anti-immigrant influence. Jörg Haider's Austrian Freedom Party has held rallies with Nazi SS veterans.

This, the anti-democratic right, has a repertoire of grievances, if not an agenda, which it is prepared to deploy with violence. Unemployment is its source of working-class strength, high taxation a parallel festering ground for business hostility to government. Immigrants from Turkey, Africa and eastern Europe are the focus of neo-fascist rage. Corruption within the power elite plays another crucial part in handing popularity to slick hard rightists such as Gianfranco Fini in Italy and Bruno Mégret in France. They are the beneficiaries of political, as well as economic, systems whose popular legitimacy is becoming perilous. In most cases, also, the voting system has helped the growth of extremist parties which, in the Anglo-Saxon world, do not get a look in.

More will be heard of this if and when the British have to decide about electoral reform. But it will be some time, I think, before any voting system rescues the hard right from the oblivion which both Gingrich and Portillo feel they must manoeuvre to avoid. It seems that in our world there's no escape from the shapeless, edgeless, but not brainless, centre. For some years we've been accustomed to seeing this as proving the pitiful failure of the old left. But now we're seeing an update: the new right are compelled to be revisionists as well, casting the same doubt on the frailties of political conviction in the modern age.

Bottom of the class

Roy Hattersley



ALTHOUGH Easter is a movable feast, there are two events which we know will take place whatever the date of the most important weekend in the Christian calendar. On the Sunday in Rome, the Pope speaks to the city and to the world and a day later, in Blackpool, delegates to the National Union of Teachers Annual Conference do immense damage to the reputation of their profession. I am on the teachers' side. They are underpaid, overworked and treated by successive governments, with far less respect than their dedication deserves. Every year behaviour at the NUT conference makes it more difficult to right those wrongs.

The normal excuse is that the boogers and hispers — and the militant speakers who froth and fulminate about challenging the government head on — are a small percentage of the delegates and even less representative of those teachers spending their Easter holidays on pleasure not politics. But the impression their behaviour gives is beyond dispute.

WHO would choose to have their children taught by such people? And it was not a minority who voted — against their leaders' wishes — to hold a ballot in preparation for strike action. The motion was carried.

Do these people never learn? When did industrial action in schools improve the wages and conditions of teachers or do more than briefly postpone changes which the government called reforms but the people in the classrooms resented and rejected. I do not take — and I have never taken — the pure-minded view that, once elected, a democratic government should not be opposed.

There are education policies with which I would gladly strike against them if I thought strike action would change the government's mind. But all that strikes — or talk of strikes — achieves is increased support for the idea that teachers must take the blame for the failures in our education system. There are enough people spreading that calumny without the National Union for Teachers giving it extra credence.

Few professions have done themselves as much damage as the teachers. The Inner London Education Authority remained justifiably popular with parents until its abolition. The one think in its armour was the London Teachers' Association which was seen as self-serving, overly po-

litical and too influential in the management of schools. It provided just enough dissatisfaction to allow Kenneth Baker to disband a highly successful Labour administration. The myths about the damaging effects of "ready-teachings" which, like the bogus statistics of incompetent teachers, were used to cover the failure that followed decades of inadequate investment were only believed because "activists" in the profession made them seem plausible. Assuming this week's troublemakers were not planted by Chris Woodhead, the head of Ofsted, it is impossible to imagine what they hoped to achieve.

I have followed Mr Woodhead's career since the Sunday morning when David Frost bounced Tony Blair into announcing that, if Labour won the general election, the controversial head of Ofsted would be confirmed in his post. Six weeks ago, giving the annual lecture which has become a feature of his tenure, Mr Woodhead spoke of David Frost working his "habitual alchemy" and securing his reappointment for another term. The lecture was full of such vulgar arrogance. It was also contemptuous of teachers and their largest union. It included the sentence, "A friend outside education said to me a month ago, 'If I hear another teacher whining on about how stressed they are, I shall scream.'"

There was not a word about "naming and shaming" spoken at Blackpool by the NUT leadership with which I disagreed. The data by which "failed schools" are identified is statistical garbage. Public humiliation does not encourage greater effort. It stigmatises the school and so depresses expectation and performance. The purpose of

Few professions have damaged themselves as much as teachers

the policy is not educational but political — populist proof the government takes education seriously, and knows who is responsible when standards fall. This week the NUT must have made hundreds of converts to "naming and shaming".

To avoid accusations of prejudice, let me say I feel as antagonistic towards the other teaching union, the National Association of Schoolmasters and Women Teachers. They seem to be engaged in a perpetual war with the NUT and regard their main duty to the education system as offering better individual representation and more aggressive national negotiations than the NUT.

While this goes on, essential arguments about improving our schools are obscured by what the public sees as the teachers' bizarre behaviour. And the reputation of teachers declines every Easter.

How to block dodgy donations: advice by the Tories' former treasurer

Tips from the trough

Alistair McAlpine

LORD Nairn's committee on party funding should be welcomed by all political parties. At last, here is a chance to sort myth from reality and to unravel the muddle that all political parties have got themselves into with their wild accusations. The idea that millionaires can buy politics is ridiculous, and must be seen to be so.

Take three names much talked about in this respect. First, Aeil Nadir: the money he gave to the Conservative Party did not stop him facing prosecution, and as I understand it, he is now in exile on Cyprus. The money Octav Botnar gave the Conservative Party did not stop the Inland Revenue raiding his home. And I doubt the money given to Labour by Bernal Ecclestone changed the gov-

ernment's policy on cigarette advertising. The tobacco companies have a far more powerful friend than Bernal Ecclestone: the Treasury is the greatest vested interest in the matter of cigarette sales. The tax they gather is colossal.

Despite rational argument to the contrary, the public, however, will not accept that there is no link between politics and cash. Those who raise money for parties must therefore ask why they raise this money: surely it is to enable their party to win votes. In that case, logic dictates that, if gathering large sums of money damages your party among voters, you should stop doing it, or make certain voters know where that money comes from, and can see there is no political connection.

As for stopping parties raising money: this is a brake on democracy. Parties should be allowed to raise as

much as they can and spend it how they will. But a party that shows where its funds come from will gain the electorate's esteem. To ban parties from raising money privately and, instead, to provide taxpayers' money, will only gather the contempt of those taxpayers.

To cap the amounts spent on private giving of between 21,000 and 25,000. Every donation above that figure must be declared by parties within seven days of receiving the cheque. This must be done by an advertisement in the London Gazette, the cost being borne by the state. Businesses are already required to declare donations to political parties: but they make this declaration in their accounts. As a result, it is sometimes two years before the public or politicians hear of a donation. Under the new system, a company secretary would have to advertise a donation in the London Gazette within seven days of sending it to a party.

In either case — private or business donation — the declarable amount should be the exact amount donated. As for the parties' accounts, these are their business: how they spend their money is up to them pro-

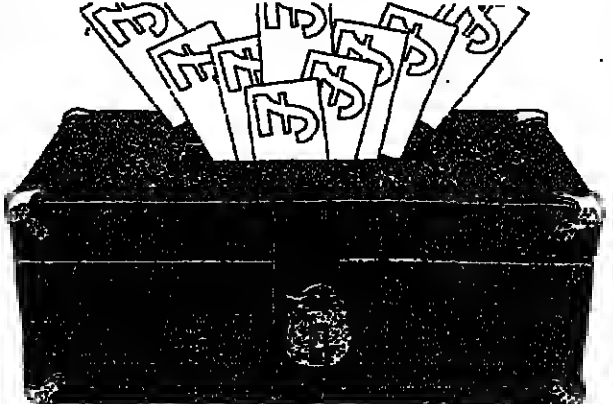
vided they do not break the law. If they take my advice, they won't publish accounts, for to show an enemy the extent of your resources is the height of folly.

Of course, there are loopholes that most fund-raisers will point out to their clients: gifts in kind, back-to-back loans, the use of free transport, the seconding of individuals. The law, however, should be drawn wide enough so that any help to a party would constitute a gift in kind. This help does not need to be valued: it should

be declared for what it is. In my days as Conservative treasurer in the 1970s and 1980s, politics were truly adversarial. Why did people donate to the Conservative Party? They were terrified of Labour. In 1983 I simply took Labour's manifesto, marked the appropriate pages and sent it out to potential donors. Money flowed in. Those who supported Labour no doubt believed in socialism and sent money as a token of their support. There was no question then of just donating to support their winning side.

Today politics have changed. There is no longer an obvious reason for supporting a particular party. Therefore, as support is suspect, far more likely to be like Caesar's wife, and be seen to be honest.

Lord McAlpine was treasurer of the Conservative Party from 1976 to 1980.



Strange Order says No

the people say Yes

Letters to the Editor

High h

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Allons-y, all

L

Some haver

David McKie

David McKie

سونا من الامل

The Guardian

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Orange Order says No

But the people say Yes

ALL BUT the most naively optimistic knew the Good Friday pact would run into trouble sooner or later. The rejectionists would start rejecting, as they have in every other peace process around the world. Those who have built careers on conflict, growing comfortable with the certainties of division and warfare, always try to crush the first inklings of a better future. They are used to the past, they know their way around it. Peace threatens them, and they don't like it.

So there should be dismay, but no real surprise, at yesterday's vote by the Grand Orange Lodge, the governing body of the Orange Order, to reject, for the time being, the Northern Ireland accord sealed so dramatically last week. The Order is a redoubt of hardcore Unionism, a place where intransigence is a matter of principle. Its 130 members looked at the details of the deal, debated it for five and a half hours, before concluding that it could not "recommend it to the people of Ulster".

This is bleak news for David Trimble, the Ulster Unionist leader, who is already under pressure from anti-agreement rebels within his own parliamentary ranks. The Orange Order will be sending 100 delegates to the critical meeting of the party's ruling council, which gathers at the weekend: that body is 800-strong, but now there is a block around which the rejectionists can organise. Just to make sure, the arch-rejectionist Rev Ian Paisley went on the rampage yesterday, as he has done since the moment the Good Friday deal was done, preaching

his message of doom, death and impossibility. He has instantly established himself as the *de facto* leader of the No campaign for the May 22 referendum, and he wasted no time yesterday in accusing every Unionist who backs it of treachery. His latest contribution was to press Tony Blair to reveal what plans London has for the voters of Northern Ireland follow Mr Paisley's lead — and bellow a collective No next month.

At the other end of the divide, there was a quieter, but similarly unsettling development. Sinn Féin let it be known that its annual conference this weekend would not deliver a final verdict on the Good Friday accord. That will have to wait till a special *ardfheis*, to be convened before the end of the month. The reason for this change of plan may be perfectly innocent — but one suspects that the master-tacticians at the top of Sinn Féin have concluded that they don't yet have the votes to win endorsement of the agreement. They have bought themselves some time. Tuesday's early release of nine IRA prisoners from Portlaoise jail in the Republic, ordered by the Irish government, is susceptible to a similar reading: it suggests Dublin came under republican pressure to prove that the peace deal is no sell-out, but will bear real fruit.

Nevertheless, the optimists should not be downcast yet. There is comfort in the fact that the Orange Order balked at symbolic, but relatively minor, aspects of the deal — prisoner releases, proposed reform of the RUC, plans for decommissioning of terrorist weapons — rather than the historic change at the heart of it: the sharing of power with the Republic.

But the greatest boost comes in the news we report today. The Guardian/Irish Times poll, itself an encouraging example of UK-Ireland co-operation, reveals overwhelming support for the accord, pointing the way to

a major Yes landslide at next month's referendum. The voters surveyed are not naive — only a slim majority is convinced that the chances for a lasting peace are strong — but they are prepared to give peace a chance, in overwhelming numbers, north and south. Not for the first time, the people of Northern Ireland are setting a lead. Now it is for the leaders to follow.

Pol Pot's price

The West had a dubious role

WHEN A MASS murderer has outlived his time, he can be put on the market. Pol Pot may be terminally ill and now, as the Khmer Rouge is weakened by splits and defections, one of its commanders is brokering his disposal to the world outside. We may be sure that Khem Nguon, who yesterday said "we have not yet decided whom to approach", will seek to exact a high price.

There is already talk of putting Pol Pot on trial for crimes against humanity. Such charges are of course fully deserved. But why has the international community not tried to do so before? For years Pol Pot's top ministers travelled with impunity — and diplomatic passports — after being expelled from most of Cambodia by the Vietnamese in 1979. Why did no one lay a hand on them then, or put the slightest pressure on Thailand to deny them sanctuary and rear-service support for the rebellion they continued to foment in western Cambodia? The answer was always shamefully clear. Cambodia had been freed from Pol Pot by the wrong sort of liberators. An unlikely alliance of China and the US, with weak-kneed support by Britain, (which included covert training by the SAS), sought to bring down the Pimol Penh regime by setting up a

bogus government in exile with the Khmer Rouge at its core.

This history has had disastrous consequences for Cambodia. The peace deal which led to the UN-backed elections of 1993 was flawed from the start by according equal treatment to the Khmer Rouge. Instead of their bluff being called, they were legitimised as a powerful player. This should not serve as an alibi for all the defects of Cambodian politics since then. But it has had a powerful warping effect in weakening the country through continued war, while the communist and royalist parties in Phnom Penh have played the Khmer Rouge card against each other.

By all means let someone snap up Pol Pot for the cheapest price available. Let the Security Council be asked to approve an international tribunal in the Hague to try him: even China these days should be embarrassed to oppose it. But any bill of indictment must include Pol Pot's ministers and commanders — whatever deals they have struck since then. And while we dig up the Khmer Rouge's skeletons, the West's own equivocal role should also, at last, be disinterred.

Different goals

Not footie but faience

OF COURSE football fans need not just go to France for the matches. Tourism minister Michelle Demessine hit the ball on the head, so to speak, when she said that people without tickets can enjoy all the other events in the French towns hosting the World Cup. The literature issued by her government shows a wealth of goodies on offer for the fans.

The punter may wish to start in Tou-

louse, not least because the Canal du Midi has been listed by Unesco as "belonging to the heritage of humanity". If it proves impossible to purchase one of the stadium's 37,000 seats there is a rival attraction nearby: the Museum of Contemporary Art will be displaying its treasures in the former Toulouse slaughterhouse.

English team-followers finding themselves ticketless in Marseilles will no doubt wish to respect the "pure art deco jewel" which is the city's opera stage. And for those who are not grabbed by the Musée de l'Écluse, there is always religious art — and the soap factories.

In reality the programmes being staged in the 10 venues do include some really imaginative events. It is more a reflection on British philistinism that it is hard to imagine every football fan going for them. But they may enjoy, in the Opéra Berlioz at Montpellier, a musical representation of the legendary game of France-Brazil 1962. They may also appreciate the nine metre high giant puppet performing the sarrabande in Nantes, and even the open-air Beethoven's Ninth in Saint Etienne. Only Lens has little to offer except the "steam engine shape" of its railway station.

Mlle Demessine can be sure of one thing at least: British supporters will need no second invitation to "discover Bordeaux" — at least as it is reflected in the products of its "most immense and most refined vineyards". Anyone still outside the stadium for the final in Saint-Denis, just up the metro line from Paris, may reflect more soberly on the fate of the original Bishop Denis. He is best known for having walked — after decapitation — with his head under his arm, up to the spot where the cathedral city now stands. Even those who miss in a penalty shoot-out do not face such extreme punishment.

Letters to the Editor

Silken words and cheap slurs

ALAS, poor Robert Herrick, so massacred by the military in ear that Libby Brooks, when mourning the loss of old-fashioned "rhubarb" (Two Love, G2, April 9), failed to recognise the delight.

When in silk, my Julia goes.
Then, then, methinks, how sweetly flows,
The thirteenth of her clothes!
Next, when I cast mine eyes and see
That brave vibration each way free,
— Oh that that glittering tunic
I took me!

(Upon Julia's Clothes) in Lt Col People's version. The man should be court-martialed. John Ashworth, Essex.

THE Government has agreed to the Chief Inspector of Prisons undertaking work on suicides in prison (Suicide of young inmate highlights jail problems, April 14). Earlier this year, I chaired a meeting of organisations and individuals to look at ways of improving the suicide-awareness strategy in prisons and, as a result, many useful recommendations are being pursued. Joyce Quinn MP, Minister of State for Prisons and Probation.

ROS Coward's claim that my "real preoccupations are gaining the ultimate patriarchal approval for under-age sex" (Graft approval, April 14) is a cheap slur. Outrage is campaigning to lower the age of consent to 14 for gays and straights to reduce the criminalisation of young people in consensual relations, and remove legal obstacles to earlier sex education. The insinuation that I endorse child sex abuse is untrue and shameful. Peter Tatchell, London.

High hopes on drugs

IN response to the drug czar's warning about the spread of drug misuse among young people, you claim that "some policies could work" (Leader, April 15). There are already policies that have been shown to be effective. The trouble is that we are weak-willed in investing enough resources. Government research has shown that drug treatment is effective in improving health and reducing crime. It has also shown that drug education, started early, promises to delay the onset of substance use. The test for Keith Hellawell will be whether, in the Comprehensive Spending Review on drug misuse, he can achieve a substantive increase in the resources for treatment and education; and whether we see an increase in resources devoted to reducing the demand for drugs. Let us hope that the spending figures are made public so we can check progress. Robert Howard, Chief Executive, Standing Conference on Drug Abuse, London.

YOUR message that, in tackling drugs we are spending our money in the wrong way, must get through. The

National Treatment Outcome research study commissioned by the last government, which is the source of the staggering pre-treatment crime figures you quoted, has already found that treatment works. Simply holding someone in abstinence-based treatment for weeks makes considerable savings to the public purse and significantly improves the chances of a long-term successful outcome. Why is it then that some of the finest facilities in the country are facing severe financial difficulty because desperate patients cannot get funding? Nick Barton, Chairman, European Association for the Treatment of Addiction, London.

REPRESENT a council ward in Brighton which has drug problems. I find, however, that by far the most significant causes of illness, crime and social problems are alcohol and tobacco. I have constituents who suffer from respiratory diseases and limb amputations directly caused by smoking tobacco, and assault, physical abuse, illness and broken homes caused by alcohol abuse.

Why does our society pay the bill for addictions brought about by highly profitable private enterprise? The real cost of illegal drug abuse is insignificant when compared to the appalling damage being wrought by legal drug "dealers" and the subsequent cost in terms of health and social services. The Government should show the same courage as the US has done over tobacco. Serious consideration should be given to imposing a "social levy" upon the profits and dividends accrued by distillers, brewers and tobacco producers and manufacturers. Clr Jim McGinley, Brighton.

YOU ask: "Why not restore the old idea of allowing GPs to prescribe the drug thereby helping to keep it under control?" Why not allow GPs to prescribe vodka to alcoholics? And cigars to smokers? And Mars bars to the obese? And commission health care? And enforce rationing? And prevent illness? And take on secondary care? And see ill people? Anything else? Dr M Ailbeson, Stafford.



Termites in a class of their own

IT'S true termites (Leader, April 14) can devour wooden houses and furniture, but that's not the worst of it. Termites have a corrupt caste culture: reproductives (kings, soldiers (gnats), and workers (nibblers). The nits have wings and fully developed sexual organs, and fly around and have lots of fun. The gnats have immense jaws for the defence of the status quo, and have some fun. The nibblers, the most numerous, have no fun, they chew the furniture, build and provision the nest, tend the eggs, and feed and groom the nits and gnats.

These termites, with their bizarre mores, must not be allowed to take up residence and change our way of life. Robert Walsh, Knutsford, Cheshire.

THE eradication of a termite colony cannot occur unless the queen is destroyed. It is her activities, solely, which control every other termite present whether adult, egg or intermediary stage. With her destruction all activity ceases permanently in that territory. *Cherchez la reine!* V C Hughes, Witham, Essex.

George's war

THE central premise of your profile of George Galloway MP (April 15) that he was a political high-flyer until 1985 when he crossed Neil Kinnock and Robert Maxwell, who then "wreaked their revenge" through Maxwell journalists investigating Galloway's expenses as director of War on Want, is untrue. The damaging material came from War on Want staff desperate to get rid of him. As a favour to a friend I took a dossier to the Daily Mirror, where it was declined. The political editor who took this decision, alone, was Kinnock's close friend, Alistair Campbell. Charles Jones, St Albans.

YOUR Leader (April 1) and OnLine (April 9) set out with admirable lucidity the case for fibre optic networks for schools and doctors. At Easter, we had David Blunkett's plan to use it to defuse the row with teachers over red tape, new interest in rural communities and more worries about NHS waiting lists. Networks would make a key contribution to all these problems and save millions of taxpayers' money. The telecoms industry has the resources to create them and the computing industry the resources to exploit them. Please, please will government create the necessary lead? J M Harper, Friston, near Eastbourne.

there, there's a semi, a terrace, even a block of flats. Peacehaven has made the transition from truly unbearable to no worse than awful. And yes, it could be made worse. The development which the department favoured and Lewes Council resisted would have created a new incursion: into a stretch of downland which the Sussex Express describes as "the only undeveloped piece of land on the South Coast between Newhaven and Worthing". Not strictly true, perhaps, but that's certainly what it feels like as you follow the stricken coastland. And the battle's not over now. They face a new public inquiry: a further, inspector's report: a second, final word from John Prescott. Has John Prescott been to Peacehaven? If not, he should take a look. It ought to be an essential part of the education of anyone given command of his great department.

Peacehaven, a pictorial history, by Bob Poppel, Phillimore, £15.95

Blunkett accused of criminal attitude to education

IN THE 1790s the Evangelical, Hannah More, threatened hellfire to impoverished people who did not send their working children to Sunday school. New Labour policies about improving school attendance seem to be reviving this tradition. I must now will my child into good health for 90 per cent of the time. For 18 years we have been governed by King Canutes who believe they can will people to be healthy and clever. The Government should provide money to revitalise teaching, rather than inflame headteachers into the role of domestic police force. E Knights, St Leonards on Sea.

MANY of us whining teachers are parents who want the best for our own children as well as those we teach. That's why we criticise policies that reflect an even narrower philosophy of education than that espoused by the previous government.

By returning to an educational traditionalism narrowly centred on the 3Rs and tests, David Blunkett is promoting the very approach which failed many previous generations of children and turned them off learning altogether. Children learn best when they are encouraged to think rather than follow instructions, to ask awkward questions, to disagree and put forward alternative perspectives. David Rosenberg, London.

MAY we suggest that all children with aspiring parents should now be encouraged to turn to crime at an early age, in order to win a place at the new Midway Secure Training Centre. Its generous provision of computers, books plus a seven day-a-week study programme (not to mention class sizes) outperforms the best of the private sector. Gerry and Suzanne Woolf, Brighton.

Some haven

David McKie

IN THE High Court just before Easter, Mr Justice Harrison, overruling the finding of a Department of Environment Inspector that the project was "modest and welcome", ordered that plans to build 112 new homes at Peacehaven, Sussex, should not go ahead. The inspector, and his overlord John Prescott who had sanctioned the plans, had failed, the judge said, to address themselves to the discrepancy between this projected development and the policy of Lewes District Council, which wanted to divert development away from its crowded coastland.

As one who first stumbled on Peacehaven some 30 years ago, at the height of its notoriety, this judgment seemed very surprising. Was it really possible now that anything dreamed or devised by man could make Peacehaven worse than it was already? For a generation of planning students, this settlement served as a ghastly warning of what happened if you didn't have planning. Indeed, the people who framed planning legislation after 1945 were said to have the spectre of Peacehaven floating before their eyes. You could still, 30 years ago, get some sense of the initial exorcism of Peacehaven after the first world war. It was originally to have been called New Azmaron-Sea: but the name was changed after the Gallipoli disaster. Its progenitor was an

entrepreneur called Charles Neville, newly returned from Canada, where he'd built up some expertise in speculative development. He bought a bleak site on the cliffs east of Brighton for £16,200, broke it up into plots, and sold them off piecemeal. Once you'd bought your plot, you could do what you liked with it. Some went as far as bungalows, others built shacks and shanties. The plots on street corners were more expensive, so often they didn't get taken, and succumbed to long grass and weeds. The roads were arranged on a strict grid system: not always death to a small community, as Winchester proves down the road, but here a further guarantee of monotony, bungalow after shack, shack after bungalow, as far as the eye could see. They were hired to the coast by their dreamers: the dream of a place of some kind by the sea — for initially most of these plots were bought for holiday homes: it was only later, par-

ticularly during the second world war, that many began to live there right through the year. They came down from town in their thousands, on special trains and on coaches: the drink flowed freely, and names were signed on dotted lines when on sober consideration pens might have stayed sheathed. A book by one of the early Peacehaven residents, Bob Poppel* (whose family's first Peacehaven home was later sold as a chicken run) reproduces some of the advertising. "From the city to the sea" one headline proclaims alongside a picture of a steam train heading for Peacehaven (though there wasn't a station: you had to go to Brighton or Newhaven and finish your journey by bus). In the foreground there's a tower on the ground there's a tower on the cliffs to rival Blackpool's, and a pier, and a bandstand. They never got built. There used to be a theatre, which later became a cinema; but that was burnt down in 1940. And yet the early pioneers (as they de-

scribed themselves) thought they had come to paradise. In their newspaper, the Peacehaven Post, they celebrated their garden city behind the sea in terms which Neville himself could scarcely have bettered. A land of Romance; "an Eden environment"; "a panorama of pastoral peace". There is even a poem: *Peace — thrice blessed word to hearts that seek! A haven from the storm and stress of life! On noble heights swept by the ocean breeze! Where eye can take its fill e'en to the brim! Of Downland glories, mighty banks and leas! Mid earle cries of seagull as they trim! Their wings to kiss the crested wave below! Seek ye such gifts that Nature doth bestow! They are here! Peacehaven!*

Perhaps it should have been preserved as it was, to keep its warning against unplanning alive. The community has consolidated over the years; unmade-up roads have been made up; unsightly empty sites have been built on; here and

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Peacehaven, a pictorial history, by Bob Poppel, Phillimore, £15.95

John Wilbraham

Baroque to the Beatles

JOHN Wilbraham, who has died aged 53, was the outstanding classical trumpeter of his generation — reaching the height of his profession in his early twenties. He appeared with most of the major London orchestras and held the post of principal trumpet with the New Philharmonia, Royal Philharmonic, BBC Symphony and Philharmonia Orchestras between the 1950s and 1980s.

As a soloist, he was renowned for his recordings of the Baroque solo trumpet repertoire, and was one of the country's first and best players of the piccolo trumpet. The first of his many solo recordings with the Academy of St Martin-in-the-Fields and the English Chamber Orchestra was made when he was 23. In 1967, the same year that he played as a session musician on the Beatles' *Magical Mystery Tour*. He performed on film, radio and television scores, and played the *Bride of the Sea* theme tune.

But his greatest legacy is perhaps the one he left through his pupils, for whom he became a guru figure. He was professor of trumpet at the Royal Academy of Music,

the Birmingham School of Music, the Royal Military School of Music at Kneller Hall and at Wells Cathedral School. He gave master classes to young people throughout the country, and had that rare gift of being a performer of the highest calibre who could also communicate the essence of his skills in an immediately approachable manner.

He was a big man affectionately known as Jumbo, but hated strangers to assume this familiarity

Most brass players have their favourite anecdote about John. He was larger than life, a personality who loved to tell stories, and about whom stories are told. He was a man of great stature — artistically and physically — and an extremely sensitive and thoughtful being. Among his friends he was affectionately known as Jumbo — al-

though he intensely disliked strangers to assume this familiarity. John Wilbraham was born in Bournemouth and educated at Raynes Park Grammar School. He studied at the Royal Academy of Music between 1952 and 1955, where he won the Aubrey Brain Prize, the Frank James Prize and the Silver Medal of the Worshipful Company of Musicians.

John's approach to teaching was highly personal and at its heart were the basic principles of technique, how to blow a trumpet and the importance of a lyrical trumpet sound. He could not only inspire pupils to try to match his own gloriously rich trumpet tone, but also give them the skills to do it. The technique, once mastered, enabled the Wilbraham student to achieve his or her full potential, and to be self-healing if problems arose later on in their career. He prepared his pupils to be physically equipped as players and mentally equipped as musicians to handle life in the music profession.

In 1991 he left London for Wells, Somerset, the hope of starting a new life. But two years later kidney failure and septicaemia brought him



John Wilbraham... one of Britain's leading exponents of the piccolo trumpet

close to death. Dogged by ill-health and diabetes, he was never again to reach the professional heights of his earlier years. I encouraged him to commit his principles of trumpet-playing to paper, with a view to publishing his definitive trumpet tutor, and during the last few months Matthew Booth, who had formulated

the basis of the Wilbraham teaching philosophy for his master's dissertation, and John worked in a master/apprentice fashion to refine that text. The resulting book, to be published later this year, will be dedicated to his memory. John always knew where he was going, and how he was going to get there, and was usually one of the first to ar-

rive at rehearsals. He recalled an occasion when he had been booked to play the Haydn *Trumpet Concerto* in York. After a long train journey from London, he arrived at the venue laden with his luggage to find he was not just a little early. He had arrived a year too soon. A story was told about him and the back-desk viola

player. One day at rehearsal the viola player turned to Wilbraham behind him and snarled, "Can't you play a bit quieter, you're giving me a headache?" "If only you had practised more," observed the trumpeter, "you would be sitting a bit nearer the front."

front, but he has departed this world too soon. His death is a huge loss to the British musical world. His marriage ended in divorce.

Anthony Kearns

John Wilbraham, trumpeter, born April 15, 1944; died April 5, 1998

Mark Heller

Expert guide to the high life

THE author and journalist Mark Heller, who has died aged 83, used a cosmopolitan background and a singular knowledge of the Alps to entertain and guide many Britons in the compelling, sometimes cruel, ways of mountains. Heller was born in Lancashire. His mother was Welsh while his father, a Viennese-born, Wallasey-based cotton broker, was a naturalised Briton, who was interned during the first world war. In 1921 the family moved to Zurich, enabling the young Mark to form enduring attachments to the Farsenau at Davos and the Monte Rosa area of Zermatt. On foot in summer, on skis in winter, he came to know many of the major Alpine peaks.

Forced to leave Zurich University when Switzerland banned study to non-citizens, he read geophysics at Cambridge University, before serving in the International Brigade in the Spanish Civil War. He volunteered for army service in January 1940, and was a lance-corporal with the British Expeditionary Force where his fluency in German was valuable on the retreat to Dunkirk. In 1941, commissioned in intelligence, he became an Enigma code-breaker at Bletchley, married Elaine, an army surgeon. He left the army a major, and took over the Zurich cotton-broking job after his father's death. In 1959 the Heller family returned to Britain. He became a dealer on the Liverpool Cotton Exchange,

but as that industry declined he wrote — or edited — 15 books on skiing and mountaineering. For three years he was chief instructor on Ski Club of Great Britain representative courses, his knowledge of mountaineering, rope techniques and the great Alpine crossings — the Haute Route, the Oetzal and Stubaier — were of special value. His 1969 *Ski* was a seminal work for budding skiers. He began a long writing association with *Guardian Travel*, where he was a writer of depth and perception, a peppy critic, and one who could warn of exploitation and over-development. In his *Ski Guide — Austria*, commissioned by the *Guardian*, he could describe differences in villages settled by Il-

lyrians and Allemannics, Rhaetians and Walsers, and how their high pastures varied accordingly. Yet, for the unaware, all might be termed "typically Tyrolean". He retired at 70, finally moving to Neston in the Wirral. Many of his secrets died with him, for he would not be drawn on Bletchley. What remains in the written word is a clear, profound contribution to people's pleasure in mountains. Heller's wife died in 1983. He is survived by his four children. His ashes will be scattered on the slopes of the Riffelberg above Zermatt.

John Samuel

Mark Heller, author and journalist, born November 15, 1914; died February 26, 1998

Letter

Jan Dickinson writes: In the 1970s I was a pupil at Thirsk school, which had a policy of sometimes inviting local politicians to address pupils. One such politician was Joan Maynard (obituary March 30). Initially, I was rather confused: there was a chain of sweetshops in the North-east called Maynard's. I thought the lady must represent this organisation. However, as she spoke, I realised that this was not the case. It would be elegant if I could remember some phrase of the speech or attribute some Damascene conversion of myself following her words, but I cannot. What I do remember, though, is the passion of her speech, which awakened me into thinking that politics might make a difference, that authority should be questioned and that the (benign) Conservative squariness which still held sway in Thirsk was not always right. I am thankful that she had the courage to make her stand in the north-east and, on a personal level, that she accepted the challenge of speaking to an assembly hall full of adolescents a quarter of a century ago.

Birthdays

Joan Bakewell, broadcaster, 65; Ellen Barkin, actress, 44; Nick Barry, actor, 35; Ruth Davey, Labour MP, 58; Lynne Franks, publicist, 50; Sir John Harvey-Jones, industrial troubleshooter, 74; Vince Hill, singer, 68; Sir Richard Lawrence, editor, *Early Music News*, 52; Margaret Maden, educationist, 53; Ruth Madoc, actress, 58; Conchita Martinez, tennis player, 28; Spike Milligan, comedian and writer, 80; Gerry Rafferty, singer and songwriter, 51; Constance Shacklock, mezzo-soprano, 85; Giew Smith, Labour MP, 54; Rusty Springfield, singer, 58; Prof Barbara Tizard, educationist, 72; Sir Peter Ustinov, actor and writer, 77.

A Country Diary

WHITBURN: The bay, stretching north from the mouth of the River Wear at Sunderland, was a hive of activity in low water. In the distance, on the sands, we could see walkers and joggers taking their constitutional; kids playing football or flying kites; a beachcomber with a metal detector. And down among the rocks, everyone was searching for something. There were bait diggers bent over their forks, stocking up for afternoon fishing trips. The clink of geologists' hammers came from fossil hunters half way towards the water's edge, where winkle

collectors were busy. We'd come to mooch among the shallow rock pools. The first yielded just the familiar coastal shells, with their places of overlapping scaly armour, alongside grey and mother-of-pearl top shells. Then, under a wrack-draped rock, we uncovered a sun star — 10-armed, big as a tea plate, in cheerful shades of pink and orange. Soon we turned up another gem — a cowrie, no bigger than a child's fingernail. Although no match for their brilliant tropical cousins, there's a particular excitement in finding this exquisite mollusc in

the waters of industrial Wear-side. Even better was to come. Concealed in a crevice was an iridescent *Aeolidia papillosa*. These two inch-long sea slug, whose back is covered in fleshy projections called cerata, somehow manages to recycle undamaged stinging cells of its sea anemone prey and incorporates them in its cerata, for its own defence. This was the second specimen of this delightful little animal that I'd found along the north-east coast this week, suggesting that they move inshore in spring to breed.

PHIL GATES

CORRECTIONS AND CLARIFICATIONS

A PAGE 2 review yesterday of Benjamin Britten's Paul Bunyan performed at the Lincoln Centre, New York, wrongly stated that no CD recording of the work was available. A two-disc set was issued by Virgin Classics in 1988.

YESTERDAY'S television review (Page 19, G2) referred to Jeremy Bulger, the Christian name should have been James. FULL details of the book about his years as a heroin addict by Warren Fellows were not given in the article about him yesterday (Page 8, G2). The Damage

Done is published by Mainstream Publishing at £9.99.

ALTHOUGH BBC Radio 4's *The World Tonight* has several women presenters, as we said in Monday's media section (Page 18, G2), Robin Lustig fronts the programme three nights a week and is its main presenter.

AN ITEM on local government elections (Page 8, April 9) said that in Hull, the Lib Dems had won a seat from Labour in a council by-election earlier this year. This is wrong: there have been no by-elections in Hull

this year; Labour has won the last three ward by-elections.

CATO's phrase "Carthago delenda est" (Carthage must be destroyed) was erroneously attributed to Cicero in an article on political rhetoric, (Page 5, The Week, last Saturday).

It is the policy of the *Guardian* to correct errors as soon as possible. Readers may contact the office of the Readers' Editor, Ian Mowbray, by telephoning 0171 239 5589 between 11am and 5pm, Monday to Friday. Fax: 0171 239 5597. E-mail: reader@guardian.co.uk

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- 3D PCI waveable sound
- 512K pipeline burst cache
- IBM Gold voice recognition
- Intel 100MHz bus motherboard with 440BX chipset
- Premium speaker system (not shown), headset microphone and joystick
- Windows 95 with Windows 98 upgrade voucher and Lotus SmartSuite 97
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محلى من الامم

Analysis The Post Office

Profitable, popular and publically-owned, the Post Office is on a roll. But what does the future hold? As the Government ponders its role in the information revolution, **Victor Keegan** assesses the options

A sack full of prizes

THE Post Office is an anomaly. It is a successful public enterprise at a time when public ownership has become unfashionable even with New Labour. It is like a beached whale while the Government decides whether to push it out to sea with all the other privatised corporations, or keep it in the public sector (while continuing to commiserate a disproportionate amount of its profits) or something in between.

That the PO is a very successful corporation of its kind is not in serious doubt. It scores well on most international comparisons and has a record of steadily improving productivity — though its recent industrial relations record has not been good. The one-day strikes of 1996 reduced its usual creditable achievement of delivering over 90 per cent of first class mail the following day to 86.9 per cent that year.

It employs 154,000 people making it one of the country's biggest employers. It has an annual turnover of over £6.3 billion on which it made a profit of £961 million after tax last year (the 21st year of continuous profitability). But it links the PO that the Treasury snatched 75 per cent of its profits as "dividend".

This was less than the draconian 91 per cent taken the previous year, but is well over the dividend payouts that most private sector companies make. These are typically under 50 per cent of post-tax profits. The PO argues that it is being robbed of funds that could have been used for expansion.

For the past six years the PO has been under almost continuous review as successive governments have tried to decide what should be its role in the information revolution during the run-up to 2003, when Europe's postal markets will be liberalised.

There should be privatisation and, if so, how much. The Conservatives twice recoiled from total and partial privatisation of the PO because they feared a revolt on their own backbenches, and a backlash from public opinion. But Labour, despite having opposed Conservative plans in opposition, have this week floated the idea of selling up to 49 per cent of the PO on the stock markets to raise up to £2 billion for the Treasury.

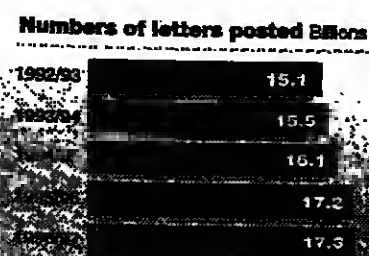
This may prove short sighted because the sale of minority stakes in companies are unpopular in the City and would raise much less than a majority flotation. This is because control is not passing to the private sector, so the possibility of a lucrative takeover bid would not be in prospect.

The PO has more commercial freedom than it used to have, but it has to submit all expansion plans to the Department of Trade and Industry for approval, a process that can delay implementation by up to six months and which gives it less freedom than its competitors. Meanwhile, overseas rivals are taking business from the PO in Britain by

offering one-stop deals with UK-based companies under which they do all overseas deliveries for clients (and maybe printing and other services as well). Within 20 miles of the PO's headquarters in London five overseas post offices (Holland, Sweden, Denmark, Switzerland and Belgium) have established sales offices. Eighteen months ago the privatised Dutch post office purchased TNT, the international delivery service for £1 billion. The German postal service is buying 22.5 per cent of DHL, one of the other international courier services.

The PO argues that its international ambitions could be severely restrained if it isn't allowed the commercial freedom that many of its rivals already have (including the still-nationalised French postal service). A comparison could be

The total package



Post Office Counters Ltd
As well as handling parcels and post, Post Office Counters Ltd is also a huge retail network selling stationery, stamps, TV licences, insurance and other services and items. It is the largest outlet for the National Lottery. People pay their bills through the post office and the entire network offers currency exchange services. Over £125 billion goes through its hands each year; its own turnover is £1,161 million, and pre-tax profits in 1997 were £34 million.

made with the way BT stole a march on its international rivals by being privatised and deregulated years before its Continental rivals. At home the PO has expanded the number of services it offers through its network of 19,000 main and sub-post offices (like foreign exchange and insurance) but wants the freedom to grow more aggressively. It is already the biggest lottery seller. Some 10,000 outlets sell scratch cards and 4,000 are on line for the twice weekly draw.

As revealed by the Guardian earlier this week, the PO wants to bid for the running of the entire National Lottery in 2001 in partnership with Littlewoods. This could lead to seven-day opening and more business for its traditional products as lottery terminals attract new customers into the shops.

There were people who wrote-off the PO when the telephone was invented (who would ever write a letter again when you could speak live to someone at the other end?), again when the fax machine arrived and more recently with the coming of email. But so far there has been an unexpected symbiotic relationship between rival delivery systems.

For instance, every mobile phone purchased generates at least 14 letters a year (for billing and payments), and recently the PO announced a partnership with Microsoft to deliver hard copies of emailed documents, mainly to clients who are off-line.

The PO says that it is handling 50 per cent more letters than a decade ago and will be delivering 20 per cent more in five years from now. Productivity claims, however, have risen by 83 per cent during the past decade as a result of mechanisation and increased deliveries.

So what's the problem? Government, that's what. The PO desperately wants more commercial freedom at home and abroad — from the bureaucratic interference of the DTI and the money-grabbing habits of the Treasury. It professes to be agnostic about ownership, leaving that to government and the electorate. It would be silly to suggest

that the PO would be mortally damaged if it were privatised — though there would be worries about the long-term future of the universal letter service under which the PO is obliged to deliver to the remotest places at the standard letter rate, irrespective of cost.

Privatisation and deregulation are quite separate concepts (even though they are forever mixed in the public mind, because Mrs Thatcher did both things at once). Increased commercialisation will undoubtedly generate problems if the PO is left in the public sector. These could arise from a major investment that goes badly wrong (like the nationalised National Freight Corporation's disastrous foray into Europe two decades ago) or from allegations that a publicly owned PO was using taxpayers' money to subsidise unfair competition with the private sector (see Rupert Murdoch's recent criticism of the BBC).

But similar problems would arise if the PO was totally privatised especially if, as likely, its basic monopoly was left intact. They would be dealt with by an independent regulator.

The hoary problem of whether the PO's finances would need to be part of the public sector's borrowing requirement if it were privatised has now been shown to be a non-problem. The recent Commons Select Committee report (22) showed that the PO could simply be converted into a publicly-owned plc whose loans didn't count against the borrowing requirement.

If parts of the PO incurred large losses, then the Treasury wouldn't step in — management would be held accountable in the usual way. And if the whole of the PO — however implausibly — were to go bankrupt?

In the end it would be the same problem whether it was a publicly or a privately-owned monopoly. The Government would have to decide whether to rescue it, or stand aside and allow a suitable private sector saviour.

In the end, the question of future ownership will be decided by the Government after assessing how public opinion might react — which is doubtless why the prospect of 49 per cent being sold off was floated this week — while MPs were safely away from the Commons.

There is an argument that a 49 per cent stake could take the question of ownership out of party politics (while making easier for a future Conservative government to sell the rest). Equally, there is no reason why in a pluralist society the PO shouldn't continue as a publicly owned corporation paying regular dividends of 40 per cent to the Treasury while operating with commercial freedom.

At the very least it would provide an alternative model of how companies can operate which may be valuable in future. What would be difficult to justify to most people would be if the decision on the long-term future of one of Britain's biggest companies was taken not to secure the best structure for the PO but in order to give the Treasury a quick one-off financial fix.

Sources: 1. Post Office Annual Report. 2. Trade and Industry Committee third report on the Post Office, January 1998. Graphic sources: PO Annual Report. Graphics: Steve Villiers and Finbar Sheehy. Research: Mark Espiner. Victor Keegan is economics columnist of the Guardian

Every day carries 32 million letters by air with 32 flights making 12,000 miles to deliver over 3 million letters.

By road
29,000 vehicles covered 466 million miles in 1996/97

By rail
Four hundred trains carry 25% of nation's post

New rail system
A purpose-built road-rail interchange at Willesden, London was opened last year as part of a £150 million investment in Railnet. Incorporating a fleet of high-speed trains linked to provincial centres, this new system aims to handle an additional 100 million items per year for next day delivery. Further terminals are planned, and over 30 existing stations have been adapted to handle the rail containers.

65,000 postal staff deliver the post to your door

2,000 HQ 1,000

The Post Office profits Pre-tax 1997

Service	Profit (£m)
Royal Mail	£518m
Parcelforce	£21m
Post Office Counters	£34m
Subscription Services	£3m
Inter-business services	£38m
Total	£577m

Subscription services
Subscription Services Ltd provides customer management services including telecommunications and database management. It has an annual turnover of £70 million with £8 million in pre-tax profit. It operates one of the largest databases in Europe for its major client, the BBC, to collect 21 million TV licence fees worth £2 billion.

Every day carries 32 million letters by air with 32 flights making 12,000 miles to deliver over 3 million letters.

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Chairman makes last-ditch effort as rival announces a salary bonanza

Vauxhall bosses take cut to argue pay deal

David Gow
Industrial Editor

NICK Reilly, Vauxhall's chairman, launched a campaign yesterday to persuade his 10,000-strong workforce to accept a tough pay and productivity deal by agreeing to give up his basic £160,000 salary for a year.

Warning in a personally signed letter that either Luton or Ellesmere Port, its two British car plants, could face closure unless costs are slashed, Mr Reilly said the eight board members would take a salary cut and around 25 senior executives a pay-freeze this year — "to secure the future of Vauxhall".

Under pressure from its American parent, General Motors, to cut costs by 30 per cent, Vauxhall was last night in make or break talks with unions to secure a three-year package that would begin to match levels of productivity and flexible working practices already achieved in continental plants in Germany, Spain and Belgium.

But some production workers and staff at the two British plants have a somewhat unusual démarche, dismissing it as at best a grand gesture and at worst a crude stunt to frighten them into voting for lower pay. Others welcomed it as a move to get rid of "them and us" attitude.

Workers earning on average £15.51 an hour pointed out that Mr Reilly could afford to forego his basic salary of nearer £30 an hour. They are being asked to accept a deal offering 2.5 per cent this year and increases matching inflation for the next two years — but also measures to dramatically raise productivity.

A former stockbroker who joined GM in 1975 after pondering his future for four months in a hut on his native Anglesey, Mr Reilly earned £249,000 in the nine months of 1996 after his April appointment as Vauxhall chairman and managing director.

Company officials said his 1997 salary, bonus and perks package would not be disclosed until later this year, but it is more or less certain to have been substantially higher. A year ago, Mr Reilly became a GM vice-president and liable to benefit from a lucrative remuneration scheme linked to the world's biggest carmaker's international performance.

A Vauxhall spokesman refused to disclose the scale of the board members' pay cut this year, but in 1996 they each earned a total of between £90,000 and £225,000.

Seeing the move as evidence that Vauxhall's management and workforce were acting shoulder to shoulder, Professor Carol Rhys of Cardiff Business School said its real purpose was to persuade GM's main board that its UK subsidiary was serious about cutting costs.

Prof Rhys, a leading motor industry expert, said: "It's a really serious campaign; they have to engage in with the US. The Americans have got it into their heads that the UK is a high-cost region, basically because of the pound, but also because of fundamentals, and Mr Reilly is trying to show that he is seriously attacking these."

In his letter, written over Easter while he was in France, the Vauxhall chairman admitted that overcapacity in the European car industry and GM's decision that it would meet future demand

for its Vectra replacement by investing in only two plants instead of the three now making the model, could hit the UK.

"Many other factors will influence the decision, but clearly this puts the future of one of our plants in serious doubt. If one plant closed, this could affect Vauxhall's market share and therefore cast doubt over all manufacturing in the UK and jobs in other Vauxhall departments," he said.

The proposed deal the workforce would vote on removed those doubts, he added. "It provides the prospect for manufacturing at both our plants for the long term, and we would be ready to take advantage of any opportunities for expansion in the future."

Mr Reilly dismissed suggestions that the proposed deal was a sham, and that Vauxhall was being greedy. One Luton worker, however, said that nobody was ready to accept it. "Two years ago, they tried the same thing, telling us that the plant's future could be threatened," he said.

But Prof Rhys said it was quite feasible that GM could invest on the European mainland, leaving its UK sites to wither away. "The unions have tended to see Luton as being under threat, but they will now be trying to get access to the workforce that Ellesmere Port could be in the firing line."



Reflected virtue... Nick Reilly's slimmer image may please GM, but British staff are sceptical. PHOTOGRAPH: IAN HODGSON

Cost-paring Ford chief gets £12m

David Gow

ALEX Trotman, Ford's British-born chairman and chief executive, last year took home a record \$20.5 million (£12.2 million) in salary and stock options as the vehicle group reported profits at an all-time high.

Like a host of global corporate executives, Mr Trotman's basic salary was relatively modest — \$2 million last year and \$1.9 million in 1996. But his bonus and share options, tied to corporate performance, boosted his "total remuneration package" to more than 10 times basic pay.

His bonus soared to \$7 million, a company record, from \$3.5 million in 1996, as the world's second-biggest motor company posted a \$6.9 billion profit.

Mr Trotman's stock options, given under Ford's long-term incentive plan, amounted to \$9.5 million in 1996, as the world's second-biggest motor company posted a \$6.9 billion profit.

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Alex Trotman is richly rewarded for delivering record profit. PHOTOGRAPH: JON FREELICH

US analysts said this reflected the changes Mr Trotman had engineered at Ford, which last year pared its worldwide overheads by \$3 billion, three times the target figure, and has set a

cost-cutting target of \$1.5 billion this year. Ford announced this week the first significant revision to its bonus plan since 1955, the year Mr Trotman joined the firm.

Some 5,000 employees will have their bonuses tied to targets such as net return on sales and customer satisfaction, while the top 350 executives will benefit from share-option schemes.

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Notebook

Don't be beastly to rate-setters



Mark Milner

SOMEONE once described a camel as a horse designed by a committee. It cannot have been a committee of economists — they would have given the final result more humps than legs, at least on a seasonally adjusted basis.

Of course, it is easy to poke fun at the profession. Economic forecasting may owe more to scientific modelling than to the scientific method, but it has always been fraught with uncertainties. Some unexpected variant is always lying in wait to sandbag the unwary or over-confident pundit.

Because it has the job of setting Britain's interest rates, the Bank of England's monetary policy committee cannot afford to be sandbagged. So it must avoid being either over-confident or unwary. Being wrong would not help very much, either.

That said, the minutes of its meetings are in danger of becoming a caricature of academic caution. For every issue raised at the March meeting (and the MPC is certainly exhaustive in its pursuit of issues), there were at least two points of view expressed and sometimes a whole range. Even the fall in unemployment in January — for the 28th month in a row, for heaven's sake — was "difficult to interpret". Minority versions of the so-called rivers of blood — the fan charts in the inflation reports which show the MPC's judgment of the odds on missing the inflation target — may appear, so as to reflect differences within the committee. The MPC was not even sure if it was less divided in March than it was a month before. It thinks it "probably" was. Less divided, that is.

City analysts used to making snap decisions and manufacturing companies wrestling with the strength of the pound and the prospect of recession may have little patience with such apparent over-worldliness.

A couple of points may be offered in the MPC's defence, however. The minutes may be overly academic and threatening to get more so, but they show the committee's lines of thought. Better a surfeit of uncertainties than the certainty of secrecy.

Secondly, the MPC's indecision does not mean it has fallen victim to policy inertia. Its deliberations, at present, hinge on one question: should the repo rate be 7.25 per cent, as it is now, or 7.5 per cent in order to keep inflation locked on to the 2.5 per cent target?

The MPC may spend much time and effort debating the fine balance between the two and coming to a split decision on doing nothing. It is not too difficult, however, to think of previous economic policy-makers who, facing double-digit inflation and interest

rates to match, would have loved such a dilemma. The MPC may be an awkward beast, but it is too soon to get the hump with it.

Policy maze

THE pensions mis-selling scandal rightly continues to haunt the industry, and looks set to do so for some time. Yesterday, Lloyds TSB warned it would have to bump up provision against its exposure, from an already increased £300 million. Although Lloyds TSB has not put a figure on the additional amount it may have to pay, the presumption must be that Sir Brian Pitman would not have raised the issue at the annual meeting unless the bank believed it needed a tidy extra sum.

Lloyds TSB will not be alone in facing a steep increase in the mis-selling bill. Other companies will have to beef up their provisions, too, as the authorities increase pressure on the industry to look at non-priority cases: younger people who will not be looking to draw their pensions for years to come.

Last week the Financial Services Authority reckoned that the final total for the compensation required will reach £11 billion, compared with early estimates of £4 billion. Even the new figure is being called into question. Actuarial consultancy Bacon & Woodrow reckons the figure could be as high as £22 billion — if all those entitled to compensation actually come forward to claim it. It predicts, however, that four out of 10 of those consumers entitled to compensation will be put off by the sheer complexity of the process.

If Bacon & Woodrow's estimate is only halfway accurate, the drop-out rate would be a scandal in its own right. No one should be surprised, however, that claiming compensation can prove off-puttingly difficult.

The whole basis of pension provision in the UK is too complex. The law on the tax regime governing pensions alone runs to 1,132 pages. The Government is right to keep up the pressure on companies to compensate those who were mis-sold pensions. But, as the National Association of Pension Funds suggested yesterday, it might put its own house in order by simplifying the tax regime.

Lending credence

THE Law Society claims to have come up with innovative proposals to solve the perennial problem for home buyers of "the chain". It suggests, for example, that lenders provide double mortgages where sales are delayed and envisages public-spirited "stockholding companies" buying up properties to prevent chains breaking down. Tax breaks would help, too. It is hard not to applaud any measures which make the house-buying simpler and less stressful.

The snag with the Law Society's plans, however, is that they are innovative only with others' money.

City braced for Schroders bid

Ian King

SHARES in Schroders, Britain's last remaining quoted merchant bank of any note, jumped by almost 10 per cent last night as speculation swept the City that the firm has received an approach from a foreign buyer.

Although rumours of a bid for Schroders had circulated for some time, market sources said there were signs a deal could be imminent. Among names mentioned as potential buyers were Goldman Sachs, JP Morgan and Morgan Stanley Dean Witter, who would make logical buyers.

Dutch group ABN Amro, which owns the British stockbroker Hoare Govett, has

been tipped before now, as has Germany's Commerzbank, which recently stepped up its London operations. Last night, voting shares in Schroders jumped 263p to 2,977p, while the non-voting shares rose 215p to 2,620p — valuing Schroders at almost £5.7 billion.

Schroders recently reported a 8 per cent increase in full-year pre-tax profits to £249 million. Analysts pointed out that any takeover of Schroders would have to be an agreed one, because the Schroder family controls almost 45 per cent of the company, nearly all through the voting shares.

Purchase of Schroders would leave Flemings, which is privately owned, as the only remaining British merchant bank of any size.

TOURIST RATES — BANK SELLS

Australia 2.539
Austria 20.77
Belgium 60.82
Canada 2.25
Cyprus 0.99
Denmark 11.31
France 9.878
Germany 2.958
Greece 517.13
Hong Kong 12.89
India 68.74
Ireland 1.705
Israel 6.29
Italy 2.941
Malaysia 8.147
Mexico 0.64
Netherlands 3.913
New Zealand 2.96
Norway 12.29
Portugal 302.59
Saudi Arabia 6.21
Singapore 2.83
South Africa 8.25
Spain 248.13
Sweden 12.70
Switzerland 2.41
Turkey 985.140
USA 1.6477

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Lloyds bumps up compensation

Pensions mis-selling settlement likely to exceed £300m forecast

Pauline Springett

LOYDS TSB warned yesterday it would probably have to increase the £300 million provision it has already set aside for possible compensation for the mis-selling of personal pensions, fueling speculation that other providers would follow suit.

Analysts expressed surprise at the extra provision, which came as Lloyds TSB revealed that its profits in the first three months of the year were higher than in 1997. Sev-

eral analysts warned that other pension providers could also be forced to reassess their provision levels, although many are likely to be able to do so away from the glare of instant publicity. The main bank and insurance company results season has just been completed and it will be several months before they need to give updates on their performance.

Sir Brian Pitman, Lloyds TSB chairman, speaking at the bank's annual general meeting in Glasgow, said the extra provision was likely

following last month's launch of the so-called second stage of the pensions review by the Financial Services Authority.

This involves focusing on non-priority cases — the 1.8 million younger people who took out personal pensions between April 1988 and June 1994. According to the FSA, it is now possible that the total cost of compensation for pensions mis-selling could top £1 billion, nearly three times the original £4 billion estimate.

"It is likely that this second stage of the pensions review will require us to make further provisions in 1998," Sir Brian said.

A Lloyds TSB spokeswoman said the bank could

not put a figure on the extra provision. "It would be unwise to guess," she said. She added that the bank had written to half a million customers since 1998 and had identified 70,000 priority cases. It had dealt with 13,250 of these, paying out £133 million in compensation so far.

Tobacco and insurance conglomerate BAT is due to provide a performance briefing on May 1.

A spokesman for BAT said that only one of its financial services companies, Allied Dunbar, had any sizeable pensions provision. Allied Dunbar increased its provision last October by £85 million to £200 million.

THE Co-operative Bank revealed yesterday that it is planning to boost its links with sister operation Co-operative Insurance Services, but ruled out a merger in the short term, writes *Lea Stuart*.

"We have very different customer bases — the bank has a very high concentration of As and Bs — and we do not want to start ignoring either end of the market," said chief executive Mervyn Pedley, reporting a fourth consecutive rise in the bank's profits.

Pre-tax profits increased by 21 per cent, from £45.5 million to £55 million. Operating profits before bad debts were up 17 per cent at £79.5 million.

Mr Pedley said the improved performance was due to strong growth in the personal sector, particularly in its credit card business.

● Birmingham Midshires, the building society at the centre of a deadlocked bid battle, said yesterday that it was considering floating on the stock market.

Plans for the society to be taken over by Royal Bank of Scotland for £500 million were thrown into disarray last month when Halifax tabled a £780 million bid.

A society spokesman said flotation was an option "being given serious consideration". If the society decided to float it could have a market capitalisation of between £850 million and £1 billion.

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Gulland to swoop in stamina test

Craven Stakes may not be cut and dried for 2,000 Guineas favourite Xaar says Ron Cox

NEVER mind the opposition, Andre Fabre was reckoning without the British weather when he re-routed Xaar from his intended prep race at Maisons-Laffitte last week to this Craven Stakes at Newmarket. Testing ground is the last thing Fabre wanted for Xaar in his 2,000 Guineas warm-up. But the Rowley Mile is riding unusually soft, and with no obvious front-runner in today's small field it is unlikely that last season's devastating Dewhurst Stakes winner will be seen at his best. It was in similar circumstances at Deauville last August that Xaar met with his only defeat in five starts. In a muddling race he succumbed to Charge D'Affaires, a colt whom he subsequently thrashed by three lengths in a more truly-run race at Longchamp.

Zafonic, the sire of Xaar, was beaten on his seasonal debut prior to winning the 2,000 Guineas for Fabre in 1993 and defeat here need not spell the end of Xaar's Classic chase. But last season's top two-year-old is simply not in the prevailing conditions.

All in all, this is a race to watch, not a bet. But if stamina is to win the day, Gulland (5.10) might prove the answer.

By Unfuwain, Gulland should stay well this season and he showed he could handle cut in the ground

when winning easily on his final start at Pontefract last October.

That followed a neck second to Teapot Roy, the subsequent Royal Lodge Stakes winner - in a well-contested conditions race at Doncaster, and Gulland is reported to have wintered well.

A mile in soft ground will tax Prince's Heir's suspect stamina, and the jury is out on Dangers Drawn, who ran poorly behind Xaar in the Dewhurst.

There is no doubt that the Dewhurst form is up to scratch, though. Desert Prince, fourth in the race, ran out a convincing winner of yesterday's Free Handicap and in doing so provided a pointer to Pegnitz (2.35), the Dewhurst fifth, in today's Fellen Stakes.

Clive's Britain's colt was having only his second outing when finishing just two lengths behind Desert Prince in the Dewhurst, having shaped with distinct promise behind Mudeer at Ascot.

This looks another difficult day for punters, but Barry Hills should be able to make a Derby entry running in a handicap - and his Doncaster winner Epsom Cyclone (3.45).

Over the jumps at Cheltenham, Mahler (2.30) can expect a time trialer Nigel Twiston-Davies's fine run. The eight-year-old should cope with the heavy ground better than Mandys Mantino.



Royal ruler... Olivier Peslier and Desert Prince hold off Trans Island

Grey Monk regains winning habit

THE Grey Monk signed off from a vine-restricted campaign with a 10-length victory over Phylberley Place in the Grade Two Fanciers For Mira Rada Showers Trophy Chase at Cheltenham yesterday.

The Grey Monk became a virus victim after beating Rough Quest by six lengths at Haydock in December and trainer Gordon Richards's son Nicky said:

"He became very lethargic and we couldn't train him for the Gold Cup as he just wasn't on it - but he'll be back next season in all the major staying chases with Cheltenham his aim."

The British Horseracing Board have announced that they expect to unveil a new chairman to succeed Lord Wakeham on May 12.

Newmarket eight-race Jackpot card

2.05	Bombastic	Highwayman
2.35	Pegnitz	Trident
3.10	Guldbad	Xaar
3.45	Spinnen Cyclone	Surprised (nb)
4.15	Dikret	Plan-B
4.45	Queendom Star	
5.20	Lord Kintyre	Lord Kintyre

Football

Paul Hayward on a report that says the fans and financiers have been pushed into the back seat as the men on the field drive a road to increased riches

Playing the game is no longer small beer

TIME was when the price of an Essex pub was all a footballer would hope to take out of the game. These days it's more like the price of an Essex house. The average Premier League player's wages rose by 35 per cent last year as the performers, not City slickers, made off with the greatest proportion of football's burgeoning wealth.

A report published by the accountants Deloitte & Touche today reveals that players' salaries had already increased by 25 per cent per season since the Premier League kicked off six years ago. Last year they rose by an additional 10 per cent as the league's wage bill rose to £135 million and lucrative long-term contracts began to replace big transfer deals in the wake of the Bosman ruling on freedom of movement. So far fantheaters have remained immune to public hostility over huge corporate pay rises, but these latest figures are certain to provoke accusations that payments to

the top 400 or so English-based players are careering out of control. But while salaries rose by more than a third, operating costs increased by only 24 per cent. The huge transfer of earnings from supporters and television companies to players is well within the spending power of most of the leading clubs.

The report describes an in-

crease in the equation and the

Premiership's pre-tax loss

from £9.5 million to £37.1 million.

Though many City analysts

believe that the boom is

finally slowing down, money

continued to gush into the 20

foremost clubs as income

from TV, sponsorship, season

tickets and merchandising all

increased dramatically. Though the 20 clubs made a

Team with analysts in all the major footballing regions. In-creasingly it found that the fastest-growing clubs last year were Derby County (with a 138 per cent increase in turnover), Sunderland, Leicester City and even Wimbledon.

The report concludes: "This

illustrates why so many Divi-

sion One chairmen are pre-

pared to run huge wage bills

and costs bases which are

totally disproportionate to

their income streams. In the

hope of achieving Premier-

ship status. There are only

three places available each

year and of all the clubs pro-

moted since 1992 only 67 per

cent have stayed up for more

than one season."

Survival is almost a *règle*

d'ère for all but the top five or

six clubs. Last season the bot-

tom 10 spent £58m on transfer

fees compared with £33m in

the top 10. During the 1996-97

season, 17 of the 20 clubs made

operating profits, even if many

turned those into losses through

heavy dealing in the transfer

market.

The ratchet was turned on supporters. Match-day income from increased ticket prices and swelling attendances rose by more than 230m.

The overall picture is of

clubs ferociously competing

for players and status at huge

benefit to the players and vast

cost to supporters and the TV

industry. The authors expect

profits to go on rising but say soaring players' wages will continue to eat into this growth.

Manchester United's tactic

was to head off the effects of

the Bosman ruling by binding

their young players to long-

term deals. Wage costs at Old

Trafford rose 70 per cent to

£22.5m, the highest in the divi-

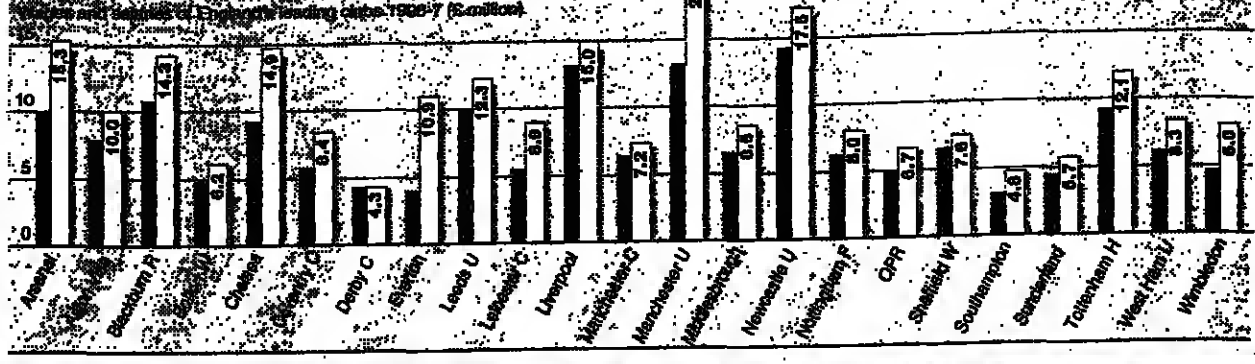
sion. Against that, United

are spending the lowest proportion of turnover on salaries for staff. Only 26 per cent of United's vast turnover is returned to the players. Blackburn's was 100 per cent (a "one-off" prediction of the authors), while ultra-ambitious clubs such as Chelsea, Arsenal and Leeds are returning more than half of their turnover to players.

Lest anyone think players are overpaid, non-playing staff also increased their earnings across the Premier League last year. The people who clean the stadium, wash the kit, keep the supporters happy and make sure the team bus turns up on time got an average pay-rise of five per cent — 30 per cent less than the players.

Paying the piper

How much do the 20 Premier League clubs pay their players?



Cup Winners' Cup semi-final, 2nd leg: Chelsea (0) v Vicenza (1)

Zauli seasoned and ripe for an upset

Paddy Agnew on the Vicenza target man with a mission at Stamford Bridge tonight

IF YOU had been doing a spot of crystal ball gazing last autumn and come up with the prediction that Vicenza would meet Chelsea in a semi-final of the Cup Winners' Cup, not many would have believed you.

If, furthermore, you had predicted that the decisive goal in the first leg would be scored by an Italian whose surname begins with a 'Z', everyone would immediately have taken this as a reference to Chelsea's Gianfranco Zola.

The name of the man in question, however, is Zauli, not Zola. The 26-year-old is the major surprise of the Italian season. Last summer only the most dedicated of Serie B watchers would have known either his club or his first name but, out of contract with mid-table Ravenna last summer, Lamberto Zauli jumped at the chance of a move to Vicenza and raised his profile substantially.

"I say viva Ravenna because the truth is that if I hadn't been out of contract last summer, I'd still be at Ravenna. I said yes to Vicenza, without even stopping to talk about my salary," he said. "I've arrived in Serie A late, but the important thing is I got here. You've no idea how many tal-

ented players there are in the second and third divisions who never get a chance."

When Zauli arrived at Vicenza his chances of making the first team seemed slim. The club already had an established and experienced striker in the Uruguayan Marcelo Otero, while they had splashed out around £1.8 million for Arturo Di Napoli of Napoli and Pasquale Luiso of Fiorentina. He started slowly and it was October before he got to start a Serie A game, lining up in the 0-0 home draw with Parma.

Zauli, however, had one key sponsor within Vicenza, the club's astute coach Francesco Guidolin. While coach at then third division Ravenna in the 1992-93 season, Guidolin had bought Zauli from second division Modena. Guidolin is now reaping the fruits of his far-sighted vision of five seasons ago.

"At the time he was with me in Ravenna he was clearly talented but slow to mature. You could say that it is his maturity that now makes the difference," the coach said. "Just at the moment he's the jewel in our crown, a player who has improved greatly because he has hit on the right stimulus."

Slow to mature and with an unfashionable track record that took him from Modena to Centese to Fano to Crevalcore along the way to Ravenna, Zauli tends to defy analysis when it comes to assessing his play. His 6ft 2in and 13st gives him the build of the classic target man.

But, as those who have seen his recent goals against Chelsea and Internazionale will testify, he also possesses close control and although right-footed, he is still capable of scoring with his left, as he did in the first leg. Chelsea, too, might have seen Zauli's wish to score a goal at Stamford Bridge.

"It would be terrific to score a goal in London but the important thing is for us to get to the final. We're very confident, after all we manage to play as equals against sides like Inter and Juventus in the league, so why can't we beat Chelsea?"

"Chelsea are stronger than us technically," he added, "but we know an away goal would make life difficult for them, so that must be our aim. They will attack us and try in any way to turn around the first-leg result, so it is up to us to defend and come out on the counter-attack when they concede space."

A seal of approval has been given by Roberto Baggio, who made his debut in the Vicenza shirt 15 years ago. Baggio had words of approval: "Zauli has had a terrific season and he's a player with definite talent. If he keeps on the way he is going, always looking to improve, then he could become a very good player," he said.

"Remember, too, he's playing in a good team, a side that is disciplined, that marks up tight, that knows how to hold on to the ball and which, if they hit you on the counter-attack, can be deadly." Chelsea have been warned.

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One jump ahead... Wise is left trailing as Zauli wins a header in the first leg. DARRIN WALSH

Champions League, semi-finals

Monaco 3 Juventus 2 (agg: 4-6)

Del Piero helps Juve survive a late rally

Paddy Agnew

THE Italian champions Juventus earned their third consecutive Champions League final last night when eliminating the French side after the second leg of their semi-final. What was not expected, however, was that the Frenchmen, 4-1 down from the first leg, would battle from start to finish to embarrass the Italians, proving well worth their 3-2 win on the night.

In terms of a real contest, this game lasted only a quarter of an hour. That was all the time it took Juventus to ride out the predictable, initial Monaco storm before their brilliant Frenchman Zinedine Zidane glided past a midfield opponent to send Del Piero on his way. The Juventus No. 10 produced a vintage touch of his own to bamboozle the Monaco defence, get into the penalty area and knock in a simple cross which the substitute striker Nicola Amoruso only had to touch in.

That goal represented an emphatic reply to a vigorous opening period from Monaco which saw several full-blooded attacks, with one of those sending the Juventus striker Filippo Inzaghi to hospital suffering from a cut lip and concussion after a clash

with the Senegalese player Djibril Diawara.

With Juventus 1-0 up after only 15 minutes, the tie was effectively over. Even if Monaco managed to score the first of the hypothetical five goals they now required to pull off an unlikely elimination of Juventus. That goal came from John Collins whose powerfully struck 38th-minute free-kick took a deflection from the Juventus captain Antonio Conte, leaving goalkeeper Angelo Peruzzi with no chance.

In a dramatic second half, a clever 50th minute goal from Thierry Henry, who made the most of a Zidane error, had given the home crowd plenty to cheer. Even then, brilliant Alessandro Del Piero equalised in the 74th minute could not stop the Frenchmen who came back to win the game with a header from the Croat substitute Roberto Spehar.

In the end the honour went to Monaco but the glory to Juventus. The Italian Champions League proved one more time that they know when and where to win both win and lose. Ask Manchester United.

Monaco (4-4-2): Barthez; Christensen, Martin, Diawara (Spehar), Gomis, Lemerle, Spehar, Chetoui, Sedira, Benazzi, Henry, Inzaghi, Trepozzini.

Juventus (4-4-2): Peruzzi; Torricelli, Donatelli, Ungaro, Thomas, Costa, Zidane (Pacchiola), Sali, Taccardi, Pecorini, Inzaghi (Amoruso), S. David, 71, Del Piero.

Referee: U. Meier (Switzerland).

Patient Real reach tenth final

REAL MADRID comfortably booked a passage into the European Cup final against Juventus last night when they held Borussia Dortmund to a goalless draw in Germany. The final will be in Amsterdam on May 20.

The Spaniards, 2-0 up from the first leg, were content to play a containing game unless they fell behind, but Dortmund, the defending champions, rarely threatened.

In a fast-paced game be-

fore a sell-out crowd of 48,500 the home team had more possession but Real had the best chance when a Roberto Carlos free-kick shook the bar. Real later had a goal denied because of a dubious offside.

Striker Ibrahim Bangko also had a goal disallowed for offside, and four minutes from time Real's German goalkeeper Bodo Illgner turned away a shot by Andreas Moeller from close range.

Stam faces PSV summit in effort to secure record deal

Mark Tallentire

JAAP STAM is awaiting the PSV Eindhoven's president and their director of football in his attempt to secure a release from the Dutch champions and sign for Manchester United.

Martin Edwards, the United chairman, last week lodged a £9.2 million offer with PSV and is confident that Stam will make enough waves to secure his release.

PSV yesterday confirmed that Stam would be meeting the president Harry van Rans and director of football Frank Arnesen before the weekend.

Tottenham fans are becoming concerned that internal divisions at White Hart Lane will help see their club relegated. "There is possibly one of the most significant games in the history of the club on the horizon with the trip to Barnsley on Saturday, and we cannot afford any internal bickering," said Mark Jacob, a Tottenham Active Group spokesman.

Lee Ferdinand, meanwhile, has insisted that talk of a rift between the Spurs players and the head coach Christian

Gross had been "blown out of all proportion".

Aston Villa are confident that the utility defender Steve Staunton, who is out of contract this summer and available on a free under the Bosman ruling, will sign a new four-year deal with the club.

The Football Association has confirmed it is still awaiting financial assurances from Umbro before completing a proposed £50 million deal for the England kit three months after a preliminary agreement was signed.

Norwich's Darren Edie has pulled out of the England B squad for Tuesday's game with Russia and will miss the rest of the season after fracturing a cheekbone in the 5-0 win against Huddersfield.

Italy's former coach Arrigo Sacchi is set to replace Raddy Antic at Atletico Madrid following their Uefa Cup semi-final defeat by Lazio.

The Scottish League yesterday rubber-stamped the new Scottish Premiership, signing a document releasing the 10 clubs. A consortium led by the former director Stewart Gillman has completed a takeover of the First Division club St Mirren.

Free, with this week's Observer, the ultimate 1970 World Cup souvenir.

The Observer

Start collecting the first of seven reprinted Paul W. Cup sticker albums, complete with Observer match reports from the time, exclusively this Sunday.

Sport in brief

Tennis

The British No. 2 Tim Henman set his sights on victory at the Japan Open after a 6-2, 7-5 win yesterday over the Canadian Bosman. He took him to the third round. The top seed, Patrick Rafter of Australia, lost 3-6, 6-7 (4-7) to the American Brian MacPhie.

Ice Hockey

Great Britain made a disappointing start to Pool B of the World Championships, going down 6-1 to newly promoted Ukraine. Mike Bishop scored Britain's only goal six minutes from time, while Tony Allen in Slovenia.

Rugby League

Wales, who last played in 1996, will face Emerging England in July and the New Zealand tourists in October. Clive Griffiths will be the coach, writes Andy Wilson.

Boxing

Andrew Golota, the Polish heavyweight who lost to the British World Boxing Council champion Lennox Lewis at his last outing, broke a three-fight losing streak yesterday with a sixth-round knockout of Eli Dixon in a scrappy contest in Connecticut.

Cricket

Sri Lanka maintained their final aspirations with a 115-run win over Pakistan in the triangular tournament in Benoni, as Pakistan was dismissed for 173 chasing 286.

Results

Football

CHAMPIONS LEAGUE Semi-finals, second leg. Monaco (1) 3 Juventus (2) (agg: 4-6). Chelsea (0) 1 Vicenza (1) (agg: 4-2).

UEFA CUP. Quarter-finals, second leg. Chelsea (0) 1 Fiorentina (1) (agg: 1-1). Arsenal (1) 0 Bayern (0) (agg: 1-0).

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Cycling

THE 1998 TOUR DE FRANCE began in Paris. The first stage was a 165km time trial. The winner was the Dutchman Jan Raas.

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Desert Prince's Newmarket triumph, page 13
Drugs setback for Sydney 2000, page 15

Wage inflation hits Premier clubs, page 14
Top cyclist in intensive care, page 15

SportsGuardian

European Cup Winners' Cup, semi-final, second leg: Chelsea v Vicenza

Vialli looking for Chelsea passion play

Martin Thorpe on the game the manager believes is a crucial step on the road to his club climbing to even greater honours

THE aspiration of Chelsea's strolling players to be seen as serious actors on the footballing stage faces its sternest challenge tonight as Gianluca Vialli's cosmopolitan company look to summon up the spirit of Henry V while avoiding a Comedy of Errors.

For all to end well, the men in blue need to balance aggression with caution at Stamford Bridge as they try to overcome a tricky 1-0 first-leg defeat in Vicenza and set up a subsequent victory in the Stockholm final on May 13 which would, Vialli believes, secure Chelsea's reputation as heavyweight performers and take them a step nearer winning the domestic Oscar of a Premiership title.

Although the Manchester United of the south off the field, the team still tend to be seen as a foreign version of the King's Road swaggers who gave birth to the club's playboy reputation in the early Seventies — good in the cups and the clubs.

But even for Osmond, Hutchinson and Co that was small beer — or a large lager. The league remains English football's headiest brew and for Vialli's ultimate aim to come true his side must tonight start showing more of the power and passion, wit and wisdom which overcame Arsenal in the Coca-Cola Cup semi-final.

"In Europe at the moment

"We're nearly ready to be the best team in England"

- Vialli

but we are very close to it. I hope perhaps we can do it next season."

To achieve that, Chelsea must improve their consistency. But also Vialli must sharpen his tactics. The team's sticky position tonight is directly attributable to their failure to score an away goal because they were overcautious in the first leg. The presence of three Italians in the Chelsea team, far from helping against Serie A opponents, may have caused them to inflate the reputation they know so well.

"We gave them too much

respect," admitted the captain Dennis Wise. "We sat back and thought we could get an away goal on the break but we didn't get the result we needed. We're better going forward and having a go at people. That's our game."

That should not be taken as a rallying call for tonight. Chelsea need to score twice without conceding, and Vialli admits: "To take too many risks against a team as dangerous as Vicenza would be deadly. We have to be cautious and brave."

It is the mastery of this trick which will define Chelsea's evening. The Italians, hard-working and well-organised, will come to defend while also looking to score on the break. In the first leg they demonstrated both attributes admirably.

If Chelsea want to depress themselves further, they can chew on the fact that they have not scored the two or more goals they seek tonight in seven of their last 12 games.

They will also be without the suspended Roberto Di Matteo in midfield, a huge loss, and eight players are one yellow card away from a suspension for the next round.

On the upside, Chelsea expect to have no injury worries, while the penetration achieved by Chelsea's attack once Fore Andre Flo came on in the second half in Italy gives some cause for optimism that goals will come eventually and that all the reservations about Chelsea being upstaged tonight will prove to be much ado about nothing.



Wall game... Gianfranco Zola practises his deadly free-kicks in training for tonight's game PHOTOGRAPH BY FRANK BAXON

FA to act over racist claims

Paul Hayward

CHARGE of bringing the game into disrepute will be brought against players who accuse opponents of racially abusing them but refuse to follow through the allegation with a formal complaint.

The Football Association has become increasingly vexed by the phenomenon of players making accusations of racial abuse in the media but then declining to press charges when officials offer to intervene.

The FA believes that recent high-profile clashes involving Ian Wright and Peter Schmeichel and Stan Collymore and Steve Harkness among others have left a festering image in the public's mind of a sport riven with racism but unable to do anything about it.

The Wright-Schmeichel saga caused particular consternation at Lancaster Gate and has still not been fully resolved. Recently West Ham's Ryal Berkovic claimed he was the victim of anti-Semitic abuse in a match against Blackburn and Collymore accused Harkness of calling him "a coon". Neither player proceeded with the allegations, which disappeared amid a flurry of claims and counter-claims made through the media.

The FA initiative is a controversial last resort. Civil rights campaigners may argue that it will discourage victims from coming forward and turn those who do into pariahs for breaking the locker-room code. However the FA believes that taking an allegation seriously is a willingness to carry it through and says it is determined to punish racists, even at the cost of chastising those who are reluctant to back up accusations with a formal complaint.

Undercover listening on Radio 4



Frank Keating

HAVING dumped without ceremony Cliff Morgan's time-honoured and cadence-filled Saturday breakfast reverie on Radio 4, the programme scheduler was not seeking the same audience when he replaced it with Late Tackle at 11pm on Fridays.

For its first six weeks, he has nicely given nighttime listeners two for the price of one by following the promising beginner with Chris Sykes's erudite half-hour ruminations on Sport in Books.

After last week's musings on cricket's muse, tomorrow night it is prizefighting's turn with contributions from Eng Lit's Val Cunningham, the veteran boxing bookworm Neil Allen, and the pugilist poet Vernon Scannell who reads his own super semi-classic on the scuffling similarities between both noble arts.

Those poets who have never learnt

The first moves of the game. We can't hope to win. Yet here comes one. No style at all, untrained and fat. Who still contrives to knock you flat.

Next week, Sykes's programme is on golf from PGW to John Updike) and on the following Friday nights he concentrates in turn on sport and crime writing (Dick Francis, H R F Keating, and Malcolm Hamer), sport and drama (with, among others, Michael Billington) and finally and simply, the language of sport.

Preceded by Late Tackle, the two programmes make up an hour-long dormitory feast away from the necessary breathlessness and groins of Radio 5 — and for those of us, anyway, who unashamedly more enjoy our sport when taken with large dollops of prose and pun and lachrymose pretension.

The producer of Sport in Books is Audrey Adams, of Late Tackle, Isobel Williams. Both were regular begueters of Sport on Four. Says Williams as seductively Cambrrian as her erstwhile and much admired Saturday morning presenter, "We all know, and knew, the value of Sport on Four and realised what Cliff had achieved down the years for its time and place."

"But the aim of Late Tackle is to be very different access-

ble to a new range of listeners. We will not be pantingly discussing Premiership highlights or the varying decimal points of batting averages."

Williams's presenter is Martin Bashir, formerly of television's Panorama. Radio 4's 11pm Friday slot is traditionally one for comedy and if not exactly the proclaimed new "yoof" and they would like the late n. "young in heart" to discover them and enjoy a different "feel" about sport with intelligent lateral discussion on matters of plith and moment.

It was a reliable beginning last week — Simon Barnes on Mike Atherton's going and his image: "He needed not so much a better razor, but a couple of better fast bowlers," and Earl Woods on the almost scarily biblical cleaving with his son Tiger. "There is a lot of me in him, but he's just a better model of me than I was."

IN THE half-hour on cricket poetry which followed, David Dabydeen was lifting on what their grand early cricketers meant to the Caribbean, emboldening the downtrodden as "triggers of whole nations' sense of ambition" as they returned from Homeric odysseys in England or Australia with runs and wickets and victories.

I had not heard before Daby-

deen's terrific poem on his compatriot Rohan Kanhai, the great Guyanese Indian, batting faraway at Edgbaston while being listened to on crackly radio by a throng of cancutters — "and when century come up is like dawn."

There was another (to me) new poem by Alan Ross, on Sir Leonard Hutton who "tended down bouncers as you might unruly dogs".

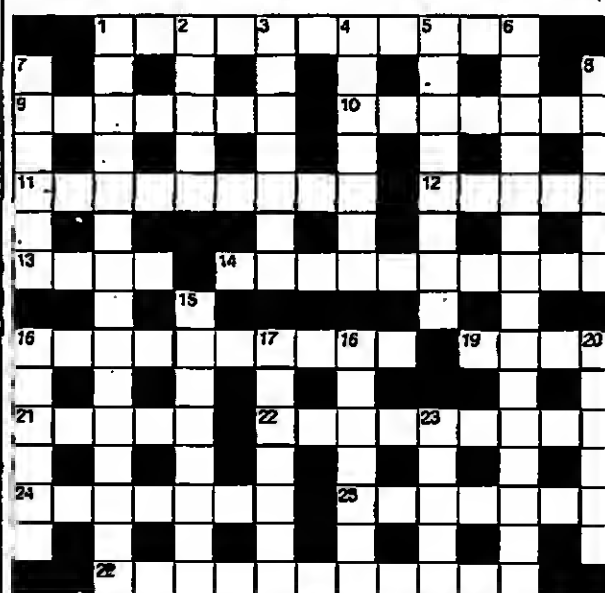
Ross reckoned most poets on cricket "didn't know one end of the bat from another and there have only been about half a dozen decent ones ever written". R C Robertson Glasgow's were best of any, he thought. Harold Pinter scotously read Ross's immortal one about the two ancients, with Sydney Barnes guiding the blind Wilfred Rhodes to his seat during a Test at Lord's. "Go easy, Steps here. This end bowling" — but producer Adams did not ask Pinter to read his own in memoriam on Sir Leonard's death in 1990, which the playwright printed expensively and circulated to his friends.

I saw Hutton in his prime. Another time, another time...

Having little reaction from his pals at Lord's Pinter challenged his fellow playwright Simon Gray. "What did you think of my poem?" Replied Gray, "Er, sorry Harold, I haven't quite finished it yet."

Guardian Crossword No 21,250

Set by Araucana



Across

- 1 Acquit maltreated mates to ease the pressure (3,3,5)
- 9 Additional name for a pointer on a sundial (error, not omission) (7)
- 10 Attempt to keep "The Return of the Wise Men" in over-uniformed state (7)
- 11 They happen to the man (not the setter) in spite of Pan (9)
- 12 Greek character would enter from 21 and maybe follow (5)
- 13 Entrance to back area (4)
- 14 Make up the five — so Peg ordered: his forefathers were rude (5,5)
- 18 Agenda for the clergy to keep crooks off the board? (5-5)
- 19 Seafarers, not prophets, not close (4)
- 21 Origin of director general going to his head (5)
- 22 Spooner making excessive claim for cannabis while the central heating's on? (6,3)
- 24 Greek character, funny when losing head to small boy (7)
- 25 Moratorium at least on explosions from batteries (4,3)
- 26 A bloomer in a more than 22 card game? (3-3,5)

Down

- 1 Promoted gunner left an establishment mafia that's put up poet? That's right (5-10)
- 2 Speed up work at the office at Bracknell (5)
- 3 Enthusiast for corporal punishment? No charge if broken (3,4)
- 4 Some games for a defender are a disappointment (7)
- 5 Cook pies and manage projector (8)
- 6 Sea-going poet's lawyers' complaints? (7,2,3,3)
- 7 Perverse fighting on the page by journalist (5)
- 8 Stars unknown in the underworld (5)
- 15 "Staying at one's post", a Lawrence by the colour (8)
- 16 Toe piece for footwear as well (2,4)
- 17 The French show that saw off the Turks (7)
- 18 Fill container with headgear for ram (3,2,2)
- 23 Can a Sikh share in a Hindu holy place? (5)

Solution tomorrow

NEWSPAPERS SUPPORT RECYCLING
Recycled paper made up 41.4% of the new masthead for the first time in 1997.



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Friday April 17 1998

The unique sports magazine

Sports

Incorporating today's

Death the blo

One of the few journalists to...
the body. Greg Torode rep...
from the Chong Sa-ngam...
on the Thai-Cambodian bo...

Life that's worth living...
page 6: Leicester...
page 12: Chesham...

Hoed...
Cowboy bo...
for cross-d...

Britain...
The...
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